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MARYLAND

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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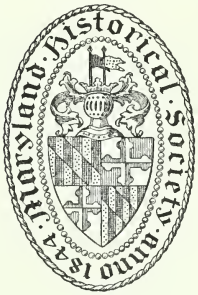

VOLUME XLVI

BALTIMORE

1951

University of Florida
1853

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JAMES W. FOSTER, *Editor*
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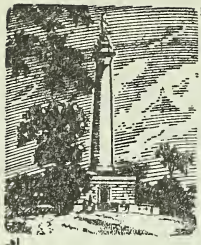
2. Preservation of these materials for the benefit of all who care to enjoy them, and exhibition of items which will encourage an understanding of State and National history; and
3. Spread of historical information relating to Maryland and the rest of the country by means of addresses at the Society's home by authorities in various fields; addresses to outside groups by officers and staff of the Society; publication of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, a quarterly containing original articles about State history; *Maryland History Notes*, a quarterly bulletin of news of the Society and other local historical items, and of the *Archives of Maryland* under the authority of the State.

The annual dues of the Society are $5.00, life membership $100.00. Subscription to the *Magazine* and to the quarterly news bulletin, *Maryland History Notes*, is included in the membership fee as well as use of the collections and admission to the lectures. The library, portrait gallery and museum rooms, are open daily except Sunday, 9 to 5, Saturday, 9 to 4. Closed Sunday.



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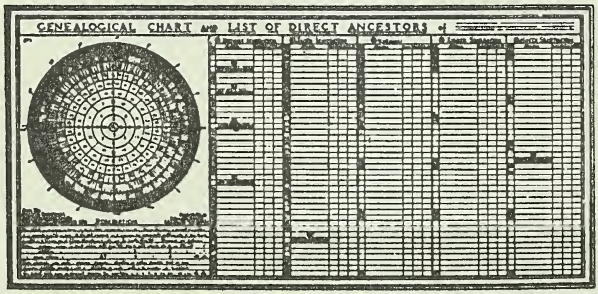

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume XLVI MARCH, 1951 Number 1

EXPANDING FIELDS FOR HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

By Arthur A. Houghton, Jr.

IT SEEMS to me that at the beginning of this New Year, at a time of no inconsiderable stress and uncertainty in the world, it might possibly serve some useful purpose for us to examine the work of the historian, the value of history, and the place of historical societies in relation to the larger framework of the conditions with which our nation is confronted today.*

At this moment, our country and our civilization are in danger. To meet this danger, we must mobilize our resources and eliminate every unessential activity. If our historical societies and what they represent are important and essential, they should be strengthened and put to work in the common effort. If they are unimportant and unessential, they should be dispensed with without delay until the day arrives when we can again afford luxuries.

It is my intent to examine with you this evening, in a most

* Address before a joint meeting of the Maryland Historical Society and the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities on the evening of January 9, 1951.

general fashion, the status of our historical societies: to re-assess their values, and to explore the possibility of their greater usefulness.

We are living in a modern age of specialization, and we can point with justifiable pride to the great accomplishments that have come from this specialization, and the great benefits that we have derived therefrom. But our age of specialization — a comparatively new incident in the history of the world — has brought with it not only blessings but also liabilities. It is, perhaps, on account of the accumulation of these liabilities that we find our civilization in its precarious position.

Each one of us in our work — whether we are a lawyer, an architect, an economist, a doctor, a businessman or a scientist — is originally trained in what our predecessors have learned. We pick up in our area of work where the previous generation left off. Such progress as each of us makes in our specialized field is recorded and makes an advanced starting point for the next generation. This process leads to continued sub-division of work and to new branches, categories and specializations, as the amount of accumulated knowledge increases.

Is it a case of losing sight of the forest for the trees? Are we losing sight of the value of the broad general knowledge of mankind for our individual specialized work? There are evidences that we have already arrived at this point. Today the organic chemist finds it difficult to talk with the inorganic chemist; the man of affairs looks upon the artist with suspicion; the surgeon views the politician with alarm.

Each of us increasingly views the world from a more and more specialized frame of reference. Even history has become a specialized subject, remote from life. We are apt to look upon it as one of the subjects that is taught to our children at school, or that is followed in some minute sub-division by the specialized scholar or archaeologist who writes technical books for other scholars and archaeologists to read.

The result is that history somehow seems less and less related to other subjects, and the study of history has become an impractical pursuit. An organization such as the Maryland Historical Society is viewed by the majority of the people as a sort of harmless club of specialists whose members read books of history and have occasional evenings of pleasant association. And on the surface

it has no relation to the other groups and organizations which, taken together, comprise the society of man.

The main point that I wish to bring out this evening is that history is *not* a detached subject. History must not exist as a specialized academic subject in a vacuum. It is, basically, the record of mankind, and in its ultimate it embraces the entire experience of man in all countries, at all times, and in all of his activities.

During the past century, with the rise of technological and physiochemical experiments, all accent has been placed upon the relation of man to matter. In this time, man has to a large extent become master of matter, enlarging his knowledge and understanding of the physical world to embrace it in all its aspects, from the great galaxies that are seen through the telescope at Mount Palomar down to the minute particles of matter seen through the electronic microscope. Man is master of matter, but man has lost mastery of himself. He has lost sight of himself in relation to existence, and this is the cause of our present fears and tribulations.

The symptoms that surround us in society, uncertainty, uneasiness and fear, are neurotic symptoms; — the symptoms that occur when an individual or a group of individuals is confronted with a situation that they do not know how to handle and that they do not understand. But fear always derives from a lack of knowledge. We are not afraid of the things that we know and the fear that we have today is not about matter but about man and his possible actions.

An example is our attitude towards nuclear fission. Our fear is not fear of the atom and its component parts, but fear about the possible application of man's mastery of the atom to our physical destruction.

We have great accumulated knowledge and information about man stored away in our libraries, which contain the records of man's thought; in our museums, which contain the evidences of man's work; — but we are not using this knowledge as a whole. There is a feeling that what went on in Greece, or Rome, or in the Middle Ages, or the 18th Century, has no relation to what is going on today. We do not realize that man does not change very much, and that the truths and wisdom of Plato or of Confusius or of Jesus Christ are just as real and just as applicable today as in the day in which they were first expressed.

There is only one way to know mankind, and that is to study the history of man. We lack knowledge of foreign people. Most of us have no knowledge of the culture and history and customs and traditions of people in foreign places. News comes to us over the radio or through the newspapers about events in different places in the world. We hear of these events and we do not understand the people that are concerned with them. We have little understanding of their history, their customs, their religions and beliefs. Lacking this understanding, we cannot find a meeting-ground of common interest.

We take pride in our educational system, in our great colleges and universities. And yet the study of many cultural and important people finds no place whatever in the curriculum of any American university. For example, the Central Asiatic Turks. We are ignorant of them, and yet we may soon have to deal with them. But how can we, intelligently, if we do not know them? Practically nothing is taught about China, the Near East, and Korea, where the searchlight is now on; or about Malaya and Siam, where it may be focussed shortly; or about Iraq, Iran and Turkey. In this country there are no good libraries of Turkish or Korean. As for Russia, the Library of Congress does not even have complete files of *Pravda* and *Izvestia*. We do not know our enemies; and, what is worse, we do not know our potential friends.

Even within our own western civilization, within our own country, we find the same situation. It has become so because we have become a group of unrelated specialists. We all use the English language, but as specialized groups we do not fully understand each other. Every specialized group has its own specialized vocabulary and jargon. It has its own technical publications which other people do not read. It has its own meetings which other people do not attend. It tries to force its own special interests through the political lobbies. The results are mutual misunderstandings, suspicions, distrusts. We know what we are doing; but we do not know what other men are doing, or why. We are suffering from a *dis*-integration of our society.

At the beginning of this year 1951, we are in a national emergency which has every prospect of becoming darker. We cannot meet it as a *dis*-integrated, *dis*-organized people. We must restore a common interest. We must understand the common ideals, hopes and aspirations that have run through the whole

history of mankind. It is these that we are fighting for, not our little, individualized " Ways of Life." It is these ideals, standards and purposes that, in turn, can be understood by all men of all nations. They should be the message of the " Voice of America." They alone can serve as a rallying point for all men against the little group of specialists in the Kremlin. We have potential allies by the million behind the Iron Curtain, even in the fastnesses of Russia. But there is only one call to which they will answer, the great call of mankind.

We are being called upon to mobilize all our resources, but in this scientific age all we do is mobilize our scientific resources. We cannot win a war without science, but will science alone be enough? We cannot kill all the Russians and all the Chinese and all of everybody else. And we should not, even if we could. This war is not merely a scientific war. It is even more an *ideological* war. It was not science that Russia used to conquer China. It was the power of ideologies spread among men who had no alternate hopes. It was not simply war matériel and science which enabled England to win the Battle of Britain. Scientifically speaking, England was defeated by June of 1940. It was a common understanding of common principles, the basic values of man stripped to the bone, which carried Britain through.

We have a great arsenal in our industrial system, but we have an equally great arsenal in our libraries and our museums, and in the whole field of history, but we are not utilizing it to the full. Our scientific research is applied so that man can utilize it and avail himself of its benefits, but historical research is not presently applied.

We have one weapon at our command which is the ultimate. It is not the hydrogen bomb. We have found that Russia can match every one of our scientific developments with its equal or better almost immediately. Our great and ultimate weapon which should be unsheathed and used is the Truth. It lies in the general accumulated knowledge of man, not in the specialized knowledge of physical matter. In this crisis, a dozen humanist historians who can lead and speak are worth a hundred divisions. Let us not forget the little group of Apostles two thousand years ago who spread a message that changed the world.

The principles of Democracy are based upon the principles of Truth as proven and demonstrated by history. Communism is

based upon the Lie. That is why there has to be an Iron Curtain. Stalin and the members of the Politburo maintain the Iron Curtain because they know that if the Truth were to permeate through it they would be overthrown. One of the greatest tools that the Communist party uses is that vicious handbook, *A Short History of the Communist Party*. Very few of us have ever seen a copy. But the Communists have distributed it in countless millions of copies, in over 200 languages and dialects. It is called a history, but it is not history. In it the Communists have re-written history, changing the Truth to the Lie, to mislead people, and that is all their new generations know. It is a situation much like that which George Orwell wrote about in his terrifying book *1984*.

I return to my original premise: that in the applied knowledge of history, in the accumulated experience of man based upon the truth, upon what has actually happened, is the greatest weapon that we have in time of war and the greatest assurance of progress that we have in time of peace.

Specifically, what can we do? What can we, as the members of the two representative historical societies of Maryland, who are gathered here tonight, do about the situation? It is not an impossible task if we know and realize what we are attempting to accomplish.

We have two responsibilities. The first and minor responsibility is clearly indicated by the name of Maryland in the name of these societies. This first responsibility is to see that there is accumulated, and protected, and made available, — not just for ourselves, and not just for the people of Maryland, but for all of society, — the most comprehensive and accurate record of the history within our State. This includes written history in the nature of books, manuscripts, letters and documents; the portable evidences of history in the accumulation in our museums and collections of the evidences of man's life and work in Maryland; and the preservation of those historical evidences that cannot be moved, such as representative pieces of architecture. All of this material must be preserved with care. It must be properly sorted, classified and made available for research purposes. We can add to the amount of available and useful material presently existing by encouraging professional research in the study of these collections and in publication of the results of such research. This responsibility is already,

thanks to the support of the members of these societies, well in hand. And this work must be continued.

Our second and greater responsibility is that we ourselves should make a more conscious effort to look upon history as a whole rather than as a lot of fragments. We should be sympathetic and understanding of all work that goes on in any area of history. We must endeavour to look through the books that we read or the objects we examine or the architecture that we view, and find within them the relationship of these objects to mankind. We must look upon them not just as precious rarities or aesthetic objects, but as the instruments of knowledge which can tell us more about man and his nature. We must learn to have a consciousness of history, which in turn will give us a greater consciousness and understanding of the present.

We must broaden this second and great responsibility beyond ourselves, and encourage and assist our fellow men to derive the same great advantages. We must encourage the wider teaching of history in our schools and colleges, not as fragmentary specialized courses, but as the organized and comprehensive study of man. We must attempt to bring the values and the lessons of history to the public, using every means of communication, not only by exhibitions and by writings within professional historical journals, but by the more popular mass mediums of the newspapers, magazines, radio and television.

We must study the ways whereby the lessons and values of history can be exploded out of the schools and libraries and museums and historical societies, and be made an integral and working force, a meaningful force, for mankind.

We have a great responsibility. And I am asking you to consider it seriously. Society can lose certain of its specialized areas of knowledge without losing the battle. But if our country and Western Civilization lose the knowledge of history and the consciousness of history, the whole war is lost. And we, the few people gathered here this evening, are not simply the trustees of the history of Maryland, but, more important, co-trustees of the history of man.

GOVERNOR HORATIO SHARPE'S WHITEHALL

By Charles Scarlett, Jr.

WHERE the lane to Whitehall turns abruptly aside at a fenced enclosure, the visitor can see the high double stairway of the old Georgian mansion through the deep shade of overhanging trees. The long sweep of the house seems lost in green foliage as he crosses the lawn, and blank bull's eye windows above the arches of the arcades joining the wings to the central structure give marked individuality to an otherwise apparently conventional brick manor house of the eighteenth century.

Rounding the building to the right—low windows open into basement bedrooms here, with floors below the ground level, rotting away from the damp—the visitor, climbing a little rise, sees the southward sweep of the Chesapeake. Borders of flowers and shrubs fall away from the house toward the Bay, and toward the creeks that bound the estate on either side are the locust, lilac, willow and crepe myrtle walks that were the delight of the colonial governor who designed and planted them nearly two hundred years ago.[1]

On the garden front of the house one is struck by the scale and elegance of the high Corinthian portico, although the central section is now seen to be only one room deep. This seemingly pretentious mansion, its dependencies set well back and its basement lost from sight beneath the grade, has from here assumed almost modest proportions.

Whitehall was built at the close of the French and Indian War by Maryland's bachelor governor, Horatio Sharpe, and it has long

[1] Mrs. J. P. Story in 1895 attempted to develop the colonial aspects of her garden. She was told that the quadrangles on either side of the center borders were once laid out in formal designs. The *Harbor of Annapolis*, U. S. Survey of the Coast (1846), shows profile of shoreline and "Whitehall Poplars" located presumably at ends of present borders; also shown is the large square garden area to south of house.

been the tradition that he planned it with the hope, which turned out to be illusory, of charming into matrimony the young daughter of Governor Samuel Ogle. It was designed and built under his personal supervision, as were the surrounding gardens and parks. The superb wood carving was said to be the work of a young redemptioner who died of consumption, his identity unknown, as he finished the work by which he was to earn his freedom. Soon afterwards, the story ran, letters from England showed that he had been condemned for a crime of which he was innocent.

After being retired as Governor in favor of Lord Baltimore's young brother-in-law, Robert Eden, Colonel Sharpe spent several years at his plantation, enjoying his gardens, his race horses, and the gay life of Annapolis. He sailed in 1773 for a visit to England and never returned, the property passing on his death to his secretary, John Ridout. Ridout had married Mary Ogle, for whom Colonel Sharpe is said to have built Whitehall, and who thus became its mistress in a way he had not altogether planned.

Little more of its early history has been recorded. Ridout descendants farmed the plantation until 1895, when the house was bought with some sixty acres of land by Mrs. John P. Story of Washington, D. C. Mrs. Story devoted herself, with a love of beautiful things of the past, to preserving this remote and neglected remnant of Maryland's colonial history, bringing to it once again an air of bygone days. Time and change have severely challenged the innate charm of the stately old house, but the charm endures today much as in the past.

In 1659 Captain William Fuller, Puritan soldier and Chief Executive of the Province of Maryland at the time of Oliver Cromwell, obtained a patent to approximately 150 acres of land near the town of Providence on the Severn River which he called Fuller.[2] In 1695 Nicholas Greenberry, deputy governor and one of Maryland's most illustrious citizens, purchased the plantation from Fuller's son, then living in Virginia, and added it to his Greenberry Forest holdings.[3] At this time improvements included " houses, tobacco houses, outhouses and tenants [*sic*], garden and orchards." But William Fuller's association with Claiborne, along with his Puritan faith, made his memory anything but pleasant

[2] Patent Book IV, f. 486, Hall of Records.
[3] Anne Arundel County Deeds, I. T., No. 5, f. 1-3, Hall of Records.

in the Colony; [4] so the Greenberrys changed the name Fuller to Whitehall of London fame.

Colonel Charles Greenberry inherited the property from his father,[5] and on his death in 1713, bequeathed Whitehall to the vestry and churchwardens of St. Margaret's Westminster upon the demise of his wife, Rachel Stimson.[6]

On November 17, 1763, at the instigation of Governor Sharpe, the Legislature passed an act [7] allowing for the setting aside of Colonel Greenberry's will and the sale of Whitehall at public auction to the highest bidder for a price of not less than £300. The deal was concluded after the opening of the sale by the Governor's sporting £305. offer.[8] But on September 3, 1764, the day preceding settlement, he had sold to the vestry and churchwardens of St. Margaret's Westminster an equal amount of land, or 144 acres, farther inland on the peninsula, for the sum of £305.[9] This new glebe land was part of an adjoining 814 acres that Sharpe had bought from Mr. John Hesselius on October 4, 1763,[10] and this 144 acre strip he leased back from the church for £18. a year.[11] So in the late summer of 1764 Sharpe was established on his 1000 acre plantation, bounded to the east and west by Scotcher's (Meredith) and Homewood's (Whitehall) Creeks and on the south by an estuary of the Severn, then known as Half Pone Bay (Whitehall Bay). The site for his new dwelling was that occupied by an old barn then standing, the foundation of which may still be found a few feet from the house on the garden side.[12]

Horatio Sharpe was born near Hull in Yorkshire in 1718, the youngest of a family of nine boys. In 1745 he was commissioned

[4] J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland* (Philadelphia, 1879), I, 225.
[5] Will Book 7, f. 314, Hall of Records.
[6] Will Book 13, f. 542, Hall of Records.
[7] Bacon's *Laws of Maryland*, Chapter XX (1763).
[8] Anne Arundel County Deeds, B. B. No. 3, f. 261, Hall of Records. Four of Maryland's early governors or acting governors have held title to Whitehall: William Fuller (1659), Nicholas Greenberry (1696), Horatio Sharpe (1764), and Benjamin Ogle (1782).
[9] Anne Arundel County Deeds, B. B. No. 3, f. 259, Hall of Records.
[10] Provincial Court Judgments, D. D. No. 3, f. 107, Land Office Records, Annapolis.
[11] Plantation accounts in possession of writer.
[12] Survey run by John Frederik Augustus Priggs for Sharpe in ca. 1763 sights " to the Locust Post, the beginning of White Hall. / from the locust post to the center of the barn on close to which spot the house will be built, S 47° W. 132P." Copy in possession of writer.

captain in the marines and shortly afterward lieutenant-colonel of foot in the West Indies. It was this experience in military and colonial affairs that enabled his brother William, as guardian to the young proprietary, Frederick Calvert, to obtain for him the governorship of the province of Maryland. The new Lieutenant-Governor arrived in Annapolis on August 10, 1753, on the *Molly,* and settled down in this elegant little capital city, described as the richest and most luxurious upon the Continent, to a task much to his liking and for which he seemed extremely well fitted.[13]

The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 between England and France had left unsettled the boundaries between their possessions in North Amrica, and trouble was already brewing. By the spring of 1754, the French had invaded the Ohio River in large force, having engaged the Chippeways, Ottaways and Arundacks to take up the hatchet against His Majesty's subjects settled there. King George despatched a commission to Governor Sharpe " appointing him Commander-in-Chief of all the forces that are, or may be raised to defend the frontiers of Virginia and the neighboring colonies." [14] When the gravity of the situation increased and news of Major Washington's sound defeat at Great Meadows was received, Major General Braddock with two regiments and a great train of artillery embarked for America to take charge of the situation. It was significant of the times in Annapolis that the Maryland Governor could provide the ill-fated General with his English chariot for six horses in which he was to ride on his exploits into the wilderness and against the enemy at Fort Duquesne.[15]

With the close of the French and Indian War in 1763, the Governor once again found time for the things that were nearest his heart. He owned an island in Rhode River, but this was too remote from Annapolis to be easily accessible for the entertainment of his many friends and personages visiting the province.[16] Gardening was his great love, and although the large house he had rented in town was surrounded by several acres of gardens, and equipped with a greenhouse,[17] he wanted the privacy and

[13] Scharf, *op. cit.*, II, 10.
[14] *Ibid.*, I, 449.
[15] *Ibid.*, I, 457.
[16] Family tradition, Mrs. C. Nelson Dugan.
[17] Joseph T. Wheeler, " Reading Interests of Maryland Planters and Merchants, 1700-1776," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XXXVII (March, 1942), 40.

freedom of the extensive lawns, walks and parks he had known at home in England. The old glebe plantation, Whitehall, almost surrounded as it was by water and little more than a half hour from town by boat, suited his purpose admirably. Since this was entailed church property, it would require his influence with the Legislature to have laws passed setting aside the terms of Colonel Greenberry's will. So certain he was that this would be done, he bought the adjacent land in the fall of 1763, almost a year prior to his settlement for Whitehall. In all likelihood plans and materials for his new place had been worked up during the interim, and the house was under way by the fall of 1764, for by 1765 a French traveler reported on June 22nd, "Crossed the severn (which is about 2 miles broad) and waited on the governor in company with both Galloways. he lives about 6 m. from town where he was bought a farm and is building a prety box of a house on the Bay side, which he calls white hall." [18]

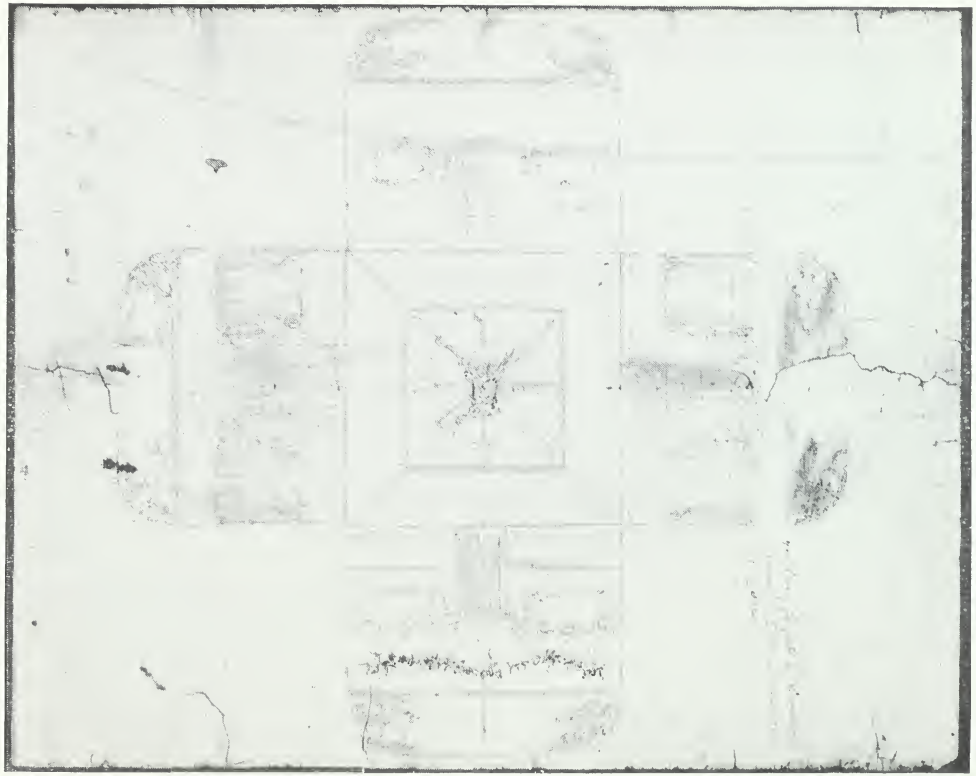
A careful examination of the structure of Whitehall reveals that the central block was completed as a unit, with brick retaining walls near the south corners of the building to allow for the exposure of the basement on the north side. One needs but thumb through the volumes of *Vitruvius Britannicus* to find its prototypes and components in the architectural drawings of Colin Campbell.[19] Sharpe was erecting in the center of his English gardens a pavilion or garden house in the form of a Roman Temple—a tribute to the growing things about him and such a one as could have been found on many of the great country estates in Britain.

The great square hall or salon occupies the full depth of the house, and its high coved ceiling extends into the roof space. Centered in the ceiling is a gilded phoenix, embodiment of Egypt's sun god, rising from blue gray ashes amid bolts of lightning and surrounded by a circle of twelve gilded stars set in a black field. The stars are to commemorate the twelve rebirths of this miraculous bird, supposed to take place in Syria once every five hundred

[18] Anonymous, "Diary of a French Traveller in the Colonies, 1765, II," *American Historical Review*, XXVII (1921-1922), 72. See also "Journal of an officer's [Lord Adam Gordon's] travels in America and the West Indies, 1764-1765" in Newton D. Mereness (ed.), *Travels in the American Colonies* (New York, 1916), pp. 408-409: "The present Governour Horatio Sharpe Esq. has a house in town, but resides much at a little place he is now building at about 6 or 7 Miles up Severn River, which here falls into Annapolis Bay. . . ."

[19] (London, 1717-1771), III, 49-50. For instance, "A new Garden Room at Hall Barn near Beaconsfield in the County of Bucks."

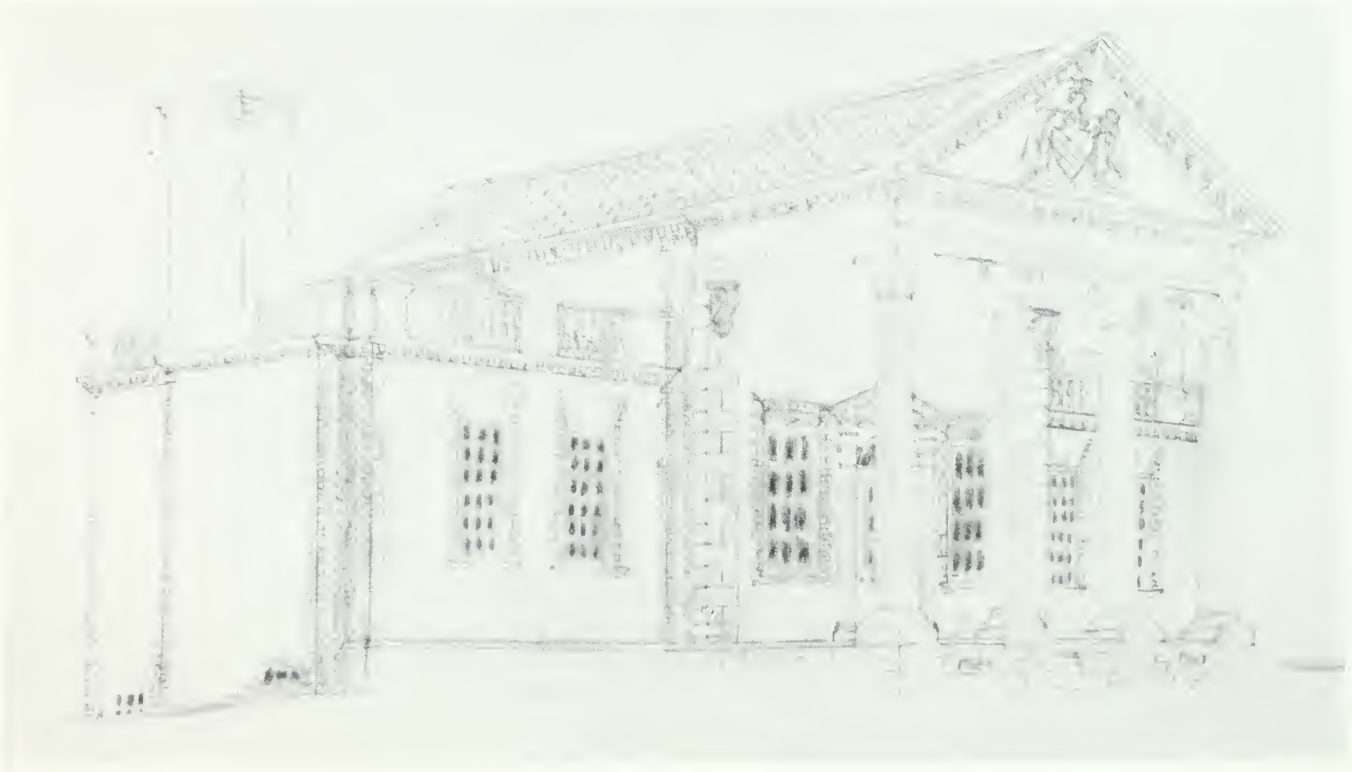
WHITEHALL—LAND APPROACH FROM THE NORTH



"A DRAFT OF THE ORNAMENTS FOR THE HALL AT WHITEHALL,"
Attributed to William Buckland

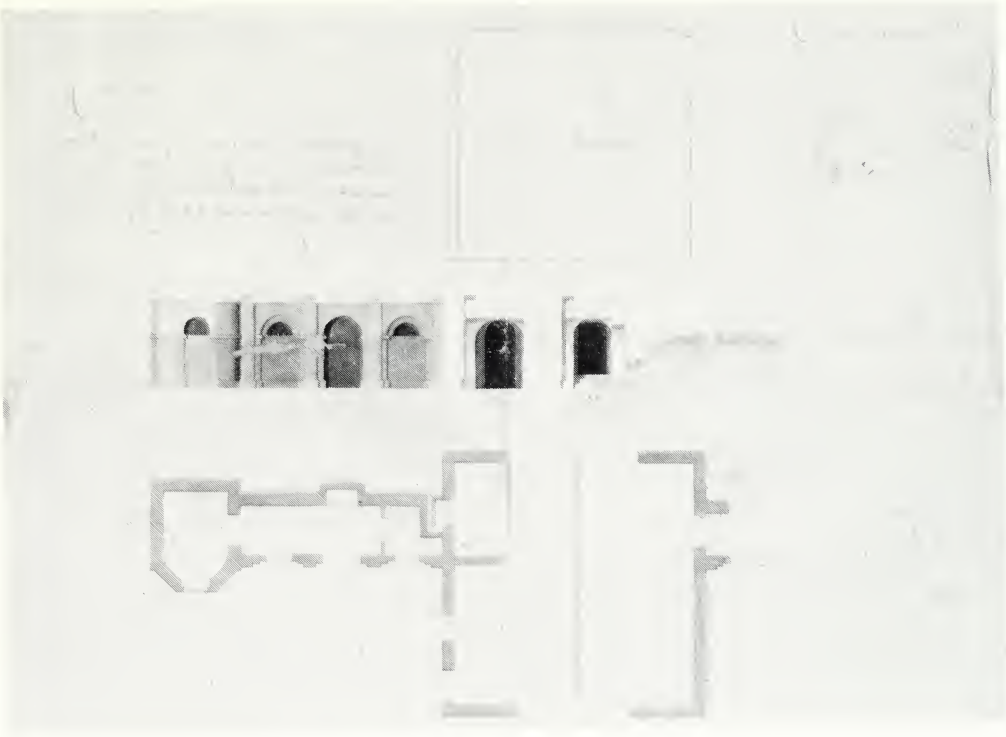
Carved Mask, One of the Four Winds in the Cove Ceiling of the Great Hall

Door and Window Trim of the Great Hall; Probably from Buckland's Workshop

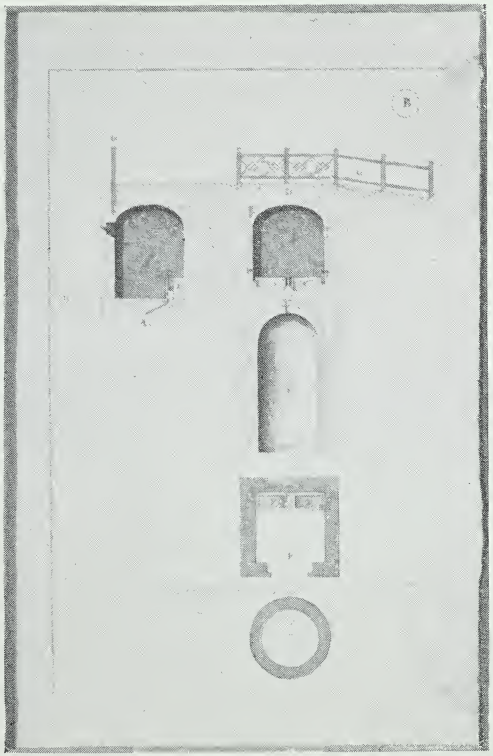


DRAWING OF GOVERNOR SHARPE'S GARDEN HOUSE, CA. 1765,

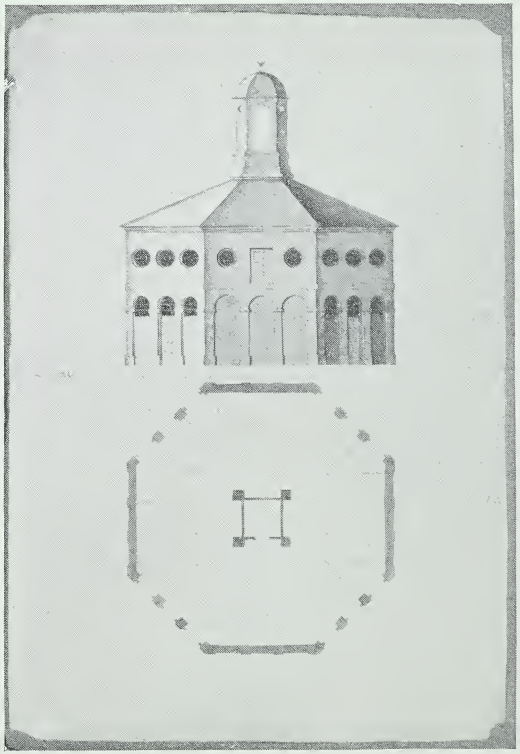
Prepared by the Writer



ANDERSON'S DRAWING FOR THE MISSING EXTENSIONS TO THE PAVILIONS



Anderson's Section and Plan of the Water Closet for the West Extension



Anderson's Elevation and Plan of the Octagonal Racing Stable

years. In the angles formed by the coves are carved baroque masks representing the four winds, and below an elaborate plaster cornice once appeared on the red plaster walls delicately carved garlands and festoons of flowers and fruit. Spaces between doors and window frames were adorned with carved pendants, side wall spaces were supplied with pairs of these drops, and all were painted white. The entrance doorways to north and south are of a rich Corinthian order. Chair rails and base mouldings are heavily carved. The consoles of the window architraves are superb.

The front doors themselves, flanked by windows, were half glazed to bring into the room the gardens and court yard, and the window lights are reputedly the largest found anywhere in the Colonies.[20] The trim was white save for the two oak grained doors in the center of the two wall spaces which lead into the withdrawing rooms. There is strong evidence that the floor was of white marble tile edged by a dark slate border.

The east drawing room woodwork fairly drips with ornamentation and was painted a pale olive. The heavy plaster cornice was once gaily done up in yellow and white, with the various mouldings set apart by red lines, the shadows between the dentils being deepened by the use of purple paint. The whole is in the very finest mid-eighteenth century tradition, either in the colonies or in Britain. It has been suggested that this was the gentlemen's drawing room, for the carved window architraves and consoles made unnecessary any draperies which might be ruined by the smells and dirt from the rank green tobacco smoked by our forefathers.[21]

Through the door across the great hall one steps into the ladies' drawing room, which has similar mouldings but is much more restrained in its ornamention. The trim and plaster walls here were done in white oil paint. As though unable quite to accept this attempt at relative simplicity, the plasterer has worked into his cornice sheaves of wheat and bunches of grapes, giving to the square ceiling an ornamental character as of a delicately bordered carpet. Unlike the east drawing room, this room is supplied with a simply framed door in the corner to the left of the fireplace. The door once opened onto a spiral stairway lead-

[20] Fiske Kimball, *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic* (New York, 1922), p. 106.
[21] Suggestion of Dr. James Bordley, Jr.

ing down to the Governor's basement office or bedroom. These stairs were long ago removed.

The low ceiling of this basement room, the heavy muntins of the windows, the panelled window seats and shutters, and the high mantel over the fireplace,[22] are in stern contrast to the airy rooms above. Leading from this room is a hallway where one passes the vaulted dungeons whose walls support the floor of the great hall above. The dungeon windows are barred for the securing of prisoners.[23] To the left, a pair of French doors look out under the north steps to what was once the courtyard. Through the door at the other end of this basement hall one enters the family dining room, much in character with the office just described, except that in place of the circular stairway, there was a sunburst wall cupboard with a skillfully executed glazed door. This feature has now been removed to an upstairs hallway to prevent its complete disintegration from the damp of the ground floor. Food from the kitchen either had to come through the doorway under the north stairs, or after the house was enlarged, be passed through the window to the left of the fireplace. At this stage of the building the old plantation farm house presumably still remained,[24] where supplies could be stored, food prepared and reserve accommodations provided for any who might require them.

Nor was any possible opportunity lost in embellishing the exterior of the Governor's retreat in the finest classical tradition. The well proportioned Corinthian columns of the portico supported a fully ornamented pediment, the highly stylized and gaily colored arms of the Province,[25] which all but filled it and proclaimed that here resided the supreme authority of the Government in Maryland. Window heads and door frame were richly carved, echoing in form the similar but simpler treatment of the north

[22] Mantel many years ago moved to Miss Nancy Ridout's house about a mile away.

[23] " The lords of the manors could hold courts-leet and courts-baron on their own estates, and this was done, sometimes, upon some of the largest manors. The members of the privy council, together with the Lord Proprietary or Governor, could sit upon the bench of the high Provincial Court, whose functions were analogous to that of the King's Bench." Scharf, *op. cit.*, II, 50.

[24] Undoubtedly this was the " little place " referred to in Mereness, *op. cit.*, pp. 408-409.

[25] The portico is part of the original building as shown by the original plan of the house and also by the presence of the original slate roof under the present one. Fragments recovered indicate complete rendering of the arms with supporters, ermine mantle, etc.

façade.[26] To cover the angles formed by the projection of the house to receive the portico, were placed wooden quoins, similar to those bordering the D- window in the pediment of the Scott House in Annapolis. Over the uppermost three quoins on each corner, to give needed support to the beams above, ornamented scroll brackets were doubtless placed.[27]

The balustrade [28] around the roofline of the wings containing the drawing rooms all but hid from view the lead roofs behind. The central pedimented structure was covered with slate,[29] those slates near the crest being nine inches below the coping of the gables but flaring at the base to be flush with the crown mould of the cornice, thus emphasizing the temple aspect that was so much desired.

The old clay bank and fragments of the water table found elsewhere on the plantation indicate that the bricks were burned on the place. They are of a rich red color and a full nine inches in length, the joints finished in a finely tooled white oyster shell mortar. To soften the union of brick and painted wood as well as to further excite the eye, the brick dressings at the corners of the building and around the projecting architraves of the windows are painted white.[30]

Dominating the north side that faced the park was once a high sandstone double stair, which, after descending to either side of the entrance doorway, turned on semicircular landings and returned on itself at the ground level.[31] In all probability the

[26] The missing door frame under the portico will be replaced by a reproduction of that at the north entrance but ornamented in keeping with the portico window heads. The original pilaster bases are extant and suggest that the pilasters were fluted. Assuming uniformity of treatment, an accurate reconstruction is possible.

[27] The location of the inset panel of the lintels indicates that such supporting features were used. This same treatment is found within the portico of St. Paul's Chapel of Trinity Church in the City of New York, the foundations of which were laid within a few months of Whitehall's.

[28] Balustrades are indicated by the presence of rough masonry on the sides of the pedimented central block to a height that would be concealed by them. The flashing marks of the original roof line were also found under the plaster of the added upstairs rooms, denoting inside gutters. The Ridout House in Annaolis was originally supplied with a "walnut balustrade" above the cornice, front and back; Mrs. C. Nelson Dugan. Anderson's two separate State House elevations show similar treatment.

[29] Much of the original slate roof remains beneath the present tin one.

[30] Isaac Ware, *Complete Body of Architecture* (London, 1756), p. 61, discusses the transition from the use of white painted wood to brick, by using gray stock brick dressings. Similar brick paintings were not uncommon in England.

[31] Examination of the stair area has not been completed, but indications point to

balusters were again of wood, turned in urn shape, in keeping with those above the roofline.

It is perhaps well here to develop one of the most perplexing enigmas found at Whitehall. A traditionally English building had been ordered erected on the verge of a wilderness but without traditional materials to do the job. Portland and Bath stone had made the great classical building period possible at home, but here was to be found at best a darkish and structurally unstable sandstone from Aquia Creek below Alexandria, and this was not too easily obtained. The local sandstones, as used for quoining the corners of McDowell Hall in Annapolis ca. 1743, were of a red rust color and of little ornamental value. So except for the facing and floor of the south porch—even here the coping around the edge of the porch seems to have been originally of wood—and the terminal step that was necessary to keep the wood treads from the ground, there was no other sandstone utilized above ground on the garden front. The decorative details were of carved wood imitating stone. An attempt had apparently been made to put up the portico quoins in stucco, as seen around the basement windows and corners of the Brice House in Annapolis, but this rather difficult process was abandoned in favor of the use of hard pine, abundant in the neighborhood.

The designs for the present State House in Annapolis, now at the Johns Hopkins University, have been attributed to William Anderson by one of Maryland's early historians, Thomas W. Griffith, who stated in his book published in 1821: " Mr. William Anderson was the architect, but it received its present finish several years after by Mr. Joseph Clarke." [32] When these drawings were

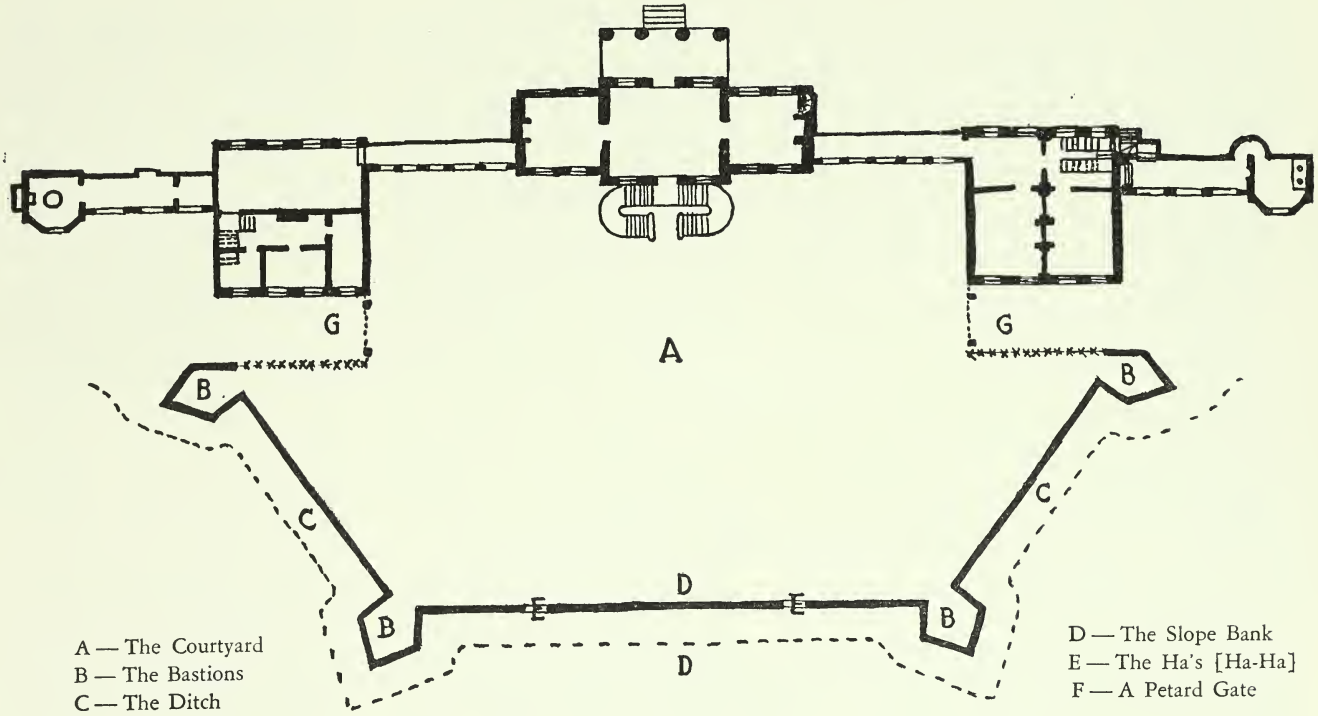
the form outlined by Anderson in his ground plan for Whitehall. Prototype: " General Plan and Elevation for Lowther Hall " in Campbell, *op. cit.*, II, 78-79.

[32] *Sketches of the Early History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1821), p. 62.

The drawings consist of front elevation and floor plans.

In the Wallace, Davidson and Johnson letters (Vol. I, dated London, December, 1771) in the Hall of Records, this sentence is found: " You tell me the house eclips's even Chases (now Lloyds) pray tell me whether or not it is agreeable to Anderson's plan or Noakes's." This reference is probably to the State House, for which plans, according to the *Maryland Gazette,* January 4, 1770, p. 4, had to be submitted by April 17, 1770.

The dearth of information regarding *William* Anderson, architect, designated only by Griffith as the architect of the State House, raises the question whether it was not actually the Annapolis architect and builder, *Joseph Horatio* Anderson, whose name appears in the *Maryland Gazette,* January 6, 1774, p. 3. The advertisement of Samuel Rustboth, " late pupil to Robert Maberly, Esq. coach and herald painter and varnisher to their Majesties and royal family," proposes " under direction of Joseph Horatio Anderson, Architect in Annapolis to carry on all the various



General Plan of Whitehall as Reconstructed by the Writer from Original Drawings and Specifications

compared with the original unsigned drawings and specifications for Whitehall and with an earlier design for the State House found with the Whitehall plans, Dr. Richard H. Howland, Chairman of the Johns Hopkins Fine Arts faculty, with the writer concluded that Anderson was the architect and draftsman who drew up the plans for the house of Horatio Sharpe. The recent discovery of these wholly professional drawings and specifications adds clarification to the generally accepted opinion that our early mansions sprang from an informal application of English style books to the needs of the proprietor. Architecture was considered a necessary part of every gentleman's education, and the reluctance of the aristocrat of the day to share such creative honors with his artisans is readily understood. The writer knows of no other colonial plans for an existing private dwelling (Jefferson's early drawings for Monticello excepted), and, though fragmentary, these plans appear to be the key to a complete and accurate restoration of Whitehall.

Dr. R. T. H. Halsey contends that William Buckland was responsible for the house,[33] and a comparison of several words found on the sketch for the "Ornaments for the Hall at Whitehall" with the handwriting of a letter written by Buckland in 1771 [34] partially supports this statement. Not only do they correspond, but similar pencil workings on Anderson's drawings lead one to believe that Buckland not only designed and executed the finishing of the house, but was involved in the building of it as well. The carving of the trim was undoubtedly done at his workshop in Annapolis or Virginia. A pair of pendants similar to those found in the hall drawing are at The Abbey, Chestertown, Mary-

branches of coach and herald painting, varnishing and guilding . . . [also] painting in fresco cire-obscure, decorated ceilings for halls, vestibules and saloons, either in festoons of fruit, flowers, figures or trophies. Carved ornaments in deception, guilding and burnishing in the neatest manner, as well as housepainting in distemper or dead white as in the common colours etc." On July 2, 1773, the Assembly passed an act authorizing Thomas Jett and William Bernard to sell a lot upon which Joseph Horatio Anderson had erected a dwelling for John Morton Jordan. *Votes and Proceedings* (1773), pp. 25-26.

The following entry is found in the Whitehall plantation accounts for 1773 (in possession of the writer): "By two Bbls of Pork to Horo. Anderson's People at the Glebe house [rented by Sharpe] £12/0/0." J. H. Anderson signed the petition for the relief of Boston, May 30, 1775. Elihu S. Riley, *The Ancient City* (Annapolis,1887), p. 168.

[33] *Great Georgian Houses of America* (New York, 1933-1937), foreword, I, 12.

[34] Buckland to Robert Carter of Nomini Hall, Keith-Carter Collection, Virginia Historical Society.

land. When this room was removed to the Baltimore Museum of Art, the initals " WB " in cipher were found on the underside of the wainscoting, which further strengthens this claim insofar as the finishing of the house is concerned.

This garden house did not long restrain the Governor's ambitions to create in the land of his adoption a seat that not only he but the people of his province could look upon with pride. The Government House in Annapolis had long stood incomplete for lack of necessary appropriations by the Legislature and was referred to as " Bladen's Folly," the State House and office buildings were a sorry sight, and the Governor himself was housed in rented quarters. Marylanders with civic pride could hardly walk with ease in Williamsburg where funds for the maintenance of Government had been dispensed with a lavish hand by the Crown. In fact, the plans that had been drawn up for the Governor were of such nature that, using this building as the main block, the house could be extended to its eventual 258 feet of length.

Provoked by the indifference of the General Assembly to provide for proper housing of the executive branch of Government and pleased with the prospect of spending the remainder of his days in so delightful a situation, Sharpe proceeded with the completion of his mansion.[35] To it were added balancing pavilions that were joined to the central structure by closed passageways; these were supported by arcades at the basement level on the north side. These connecting members are unique in their concept, since they were not to allow access to the central building but only into the new pavilions. Their function was oramental, but they could also serve as elevated parapets[36] for defence of the premises against possible Indian[37] attack from the land side.

[35] The general plan seems to have been chosen from Robert Morris, *Select Architecture* (London, 1757), Plate III.

[36] As designated in original plans: " The Eastern [Western] Parapet and Balustrade Fronting Garden."

[37] Considerable evidence is available to show that Indian attacks were considered a real possibility. Tradition (Charles D. Ridout) has it that the blank bulls-eye windows were once used as openings or embrasures for defense against the Indains. This in itself has been disproved by examination of the brick work, which showed that they were always blank. However, on November 6, 1755, the citizens began to fortify Annapolis and in 1756 scalping parties were within 30 miles of Baltimore. Scharf, *op. cit.*, I, 472, 480.

Washington wrote to John Robinson, April 24, 1756, " You may expect, by the time this comes to hand, that, without a considerable reinforcement, Frederick county will not be mistress of fifteen families." John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Writings of Washington* (Washington, 1931-1944), I, 332.

In 1756 " the defenceless inhabitants [of Baltimore] were greatly alarmed lest

The roof was a shed type rising from the base of a balustrade on the garden side to the top of the parapet of the north wall. Riflemen stationed here could cover by crossfire down natural firelanes the entire width of the peninsula, from creek to creek.

From the bedroom pavilion [38] on the west side extended another arcade of three arches which terminated in a semi-octagonal building containing the water closet.[39] This 36-foot extension was completely below the grade level of the garden and was topped by a Chippendale railing. The seal troughs [40] themselves,

the Indians should reach the town; and we learn . . . that the women and children were put on board of boats or vessels in the harbour to be rescued by flight down the bay if necessary, while the inhabitants of the adjacent country were flying to town for safety." Thomas W. Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1824), p. 37.

" The Peace of Paris was signed in 1763, but in the colonies there was still unrest, for Pontiac's fiery spirit had roused the Indians, and blazing farms and desolated hearths, and ruined forts, marked the path of the avenger of his people. . . . Suffice it to say that from 1763 to 1766 . . . the frontiers of all the colonies were in constant dread and peril." " In 1764 a treaty was made by Sir William Johnson with all the Indian tribes of the Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, and Michigan. The Shawanese and Delawares on the frontiers of Maryland and Virginia had not joined in the treaty. . . ." " The *Gazette* has the following letter describing the state of affairs on the Maryland frontier:

' Frederick Town, 19th July 1763.

' Every day for some time has been offered the melancholy scene of poor distressed families driving downwards through this town who have deserted their plantations, for fear of falling into the hands of our savage enemies, now daily seen in the woods, and never was panic more general or forcible than that of the back inhabitants whose terror at this time exceeded what followed on the defeat of General Braddock when the frontier lay open to the incursions of both French and Indians.' " Lady Edgar, *A Colonial Governor In Maryland* (London, 1912), pp. 200-202.

In 1767 work was suspended on the Mason and Dixon Line because of hostile Indians.

[38] The interior pine trim of the bedroom pavilion and alleyway is, or was till recently, unpainted. This was quite unusual for a sophisticated dwelling of the period.

[39] A complete description of this facility is a part of the original specifications and seems to precede the earliest known specifications for the modern type water-seal closet by some six years. Glenn Brown, in his book, *Water Closets; A Historical, Mechanical, and Sanitary Treatise* (New York, 1884), shows a cut by Mr. S. S. Hellyer of a water closet taken from Osterly House which he considered the type " used in England one hundred to one hundred and fifty years ago " (*i. e.* 1735-1785). This is identical with the Whitehall plumbing. Brown also states, p. 27, that a Frenchman, A. J. Roubo, in his book, *L'Art Menuisier* (Vol. II, 1770), showed several views similar to the Whitehall water-seal type. The first English patent for a water closet was issued in 1775. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 20. No patent was issued in America until 1835. Brown *op cit.*, pp. 26-27.

Sir John Harrington's book, *The Metamorphosis of Ajax* (London, 1596), describes a water closet of his invention, erected at his seat at Kelston near Bath. This, however, was a Pullman car type and did not make use of the water seal.

Water closets appear in Joseph Diamond's drawings for the President's house in Washington, ca. 1791, Maryland Historical Society.

[40] Toilet bowls.

still extant at Whitehall, were fed by a cistern supplied by rain water from the roofs, and were discharged into a cesspool below. They are cut from solid blocks of marble and arranged as a pair side by side. In all probability the floor was of marble and the walls laid in English Delft tile.[41]

The eastern dependency not only contained the basement kitchen and store rooms, but on the main floor was to be a high ceilinged banquet hall or council chamber. This room was never finished because of the untimely retirement of the Governor. Instead it later served as a spinning room.

Beyond the kitchen wing was a similar semi-underground arcade and hexagonal end building housing the well. A cistern outside the well-house provided water for the horses and stock in the paddock, which lay to the east of the house. Within these confines were to be found the octagonal racing stable with its 15 standings, the little hip-roofed dairy, the corn house and a military monument or obelisk proclaiming the exploits of the Governor.

Perhaps the most unusual feature of this fantasy in brick and mortar was to be the courtyard laid out within a fortification, semi-octagonal in form and boasting of such components as angular bastions, ditches, ha-has, glacis, rampart slopes, chevaux-de-frise fences and petard gates, and north of the fort at the turn of the lane was, or was to be, still another military obelisk—all this drawn up as part of the architectural treatment of the house.[42] For its inspiration we may look to Sharpe's love of the dramatic and his desire for the baronial effect and a standing testament to his military prowess; for its justification, to precautions against an Indian attack from the wilderness, then some fifty miles away beyond South Mountain.

Evidence exists for a summer house, which once adorned the mound over the old ice house some distance to the west, and of a garden house to balance the old well on the lawn.

How pleasant for even such a sophisticated colonial as Colonel

[41] A large marble tile, two inches thick, was found and probably went with the marble seal troughs as flooring. The Delft tile, presently appearing as facing for the usptairs west bedroom fireplace which was added by using material from the extensions, is the same as that taken from the water closet at Epsom, the home of Frederick, Lord Baltimore, after fire of 1935.

[42] Described in the original architectural specifications and drawing. The entire north front was regraded some time after 1803 (buried coin found) to provide surface drainage for this area. Spot diggings suggest remnants of the fortifications, but excavations in the near future are planned.

Washington,[43] to draw up to old Stone Landing at the mouth of the Homewood's Creek in his Excellency's barge pulled by eight liveried Negroes, to cross through the gardens to the hospitality of this gracious house and inspect some of the finest racing stock in America; or perhaps dance in the great hall to the tune of Benjamin Franklin's musical glasses.[44]

Such was the nature of a Maryland villa, modestly referred to by its builder as his "small elegant lodge."[45] William Eddis, a cultivated resident of Annapolis for some years prior to the Revolution, wrote home to England in October 1769:

> In the vicinity of Annapolis are many pleasant villas, whose proprietors are eminent for their hospitality. Colonel Sharp, the late Governor, possesses a most delightful retirement, about seven miles distant [from Annapolis]; his house is on a large scale, the design is excellent, and the apartments are well fitted up, and perfectly convenient. The adjacent grounds are so judiciously disposed, that utility and taste are everywhere happily united; and when the worthy owner has completed his extensive plan, Whitehall will be one of the most desirable situations in this, or in any of the neighbouring provinces.[46]

And so evolved in our part of the world a Palladian dwelling which in all probability marked the beginning of the full classic revival in America.[47] Taken to heart and fostered by Thomas Jefferson, it was to become the foundation of our national architecture.[48]

Momentous things were in the making across the sea by 1768, even before the house could be completed, for not only had our

[43] "[April] 15, [1773], Dined at Colo. Sharpe's and Returned to Annapolis." John C. Fitzaptrick (ed), *The Diaries of George Washington 1748-1799* (Boston and New York, 1925), II, 107.

[44] "There is a story told that John Ridout's handsome sister Mary crossed the ocean to pay a visit to her brother, and that George Washington was her partner at a dance, while Benjamin Franklin played the tune on musical glasses . . . this is the legend that is attached to a portrait that hangs in a country-house near Bristol." Edgar, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

[45] Horatio Sharpe to his brother, Dr. [Gregory?] Sharpe, December 10, 1768, MS Division, Library of Congress.

[46] *Letters from America* (London, 1792), p. 20.

[47] *Great Georgian Houses of America*, I, 16.

[48] Thomas Jefferson first visited Annapolis in May 1766. *Archives of Maryland*, LXI (1944), 15-16. He was in Annapolis from November 25, 1783, to May 11, 1784 while a member of the Continental Congress. Edith Rossiter Bevan, "Thomas Jefferson in Annapolis" in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLI (1946), 115-124. "It must have been at Whitehall that he [Jefferson] first saw the temple form of architecture, such an outstanding feature at Monticello." *Great Georgian Houses of America*, I, 17.

pleasure seeking Proprietor, Frederick, Lord Baltimore been casting a longing eye in the direction of little Miss Sarah Woodcock, the milliner, but he seems to have pressed his affections beyond the point of propriety. The rape case that ensued held all English society by the ears for several seasons, and although His Lordship was quite understandably exonerated on the grounds that Miss Woodcock had afforded him provocation, he felt the need of a complete change of climate. His seat at Epsom was put up for sale, his young brother-in-law, Robert Eden, was despatched to Maryland to take over the Governorship and relieve him of any concern about the province, and Sharpe was urged to return to London to assist in the sale of the proprietorship of Maryland to the Crown.[49] The profligate Frederick died in Naples on September 14, 1771.

Colonel Sharpe was much hurt by this turn of events. Again in the words of Eddis:

> This gentleman does not seem to entertain any idea of returning to his native land, but appears inclined to spend the residue of his days, within the limits of a province, which he has so long governed with honour to himself, satisfaction to the people, and fidelity to his sovereign.[50]

He set sail for England by the ship *Richmond* on the 10th day of July, 1773, for a visit with his family, only to become involved in the legal entanglements brought on by the death of the Proprietor and in the ever worsening relations between the mother country and the colonies, all the while hoping and expecting to return to Maryland as Governor.[51] But the outbreak of the Revolutionary War settled these problems forever.

John Ridout, his friend and former secretary, had looked after affairs at Whitehall during his absence and had helped save it from confiscation by taking advantage of the expressed concessions granted to Sharpe under the Confiscation Act of 1780.[52] Hard

[49] Horatio Sharpe to Joshua Sharpe, December 10, 1768, MS Division, Library of Congress.

[50] Eddis, *op. cit.*, p. 20-21.

[51] Sharpe's return to Maryland as governor, as he stated in a letter dated December 4, 1774, to John Ridout, " solely depends on Governor Eden quitting the Government, which he had not resolved on when he left London. Though his brother the Secretary, has since assured me that he will not tarry in Maryland, but of this be also silent." Edgar, *op. cit.*, pp. 260-261; also family letters in possession of Mrs. Dugan.

[52] *Laws of Maryland* (October 1780), Chapter XLV, "VIII. Provided, That the property of Horatio Sharpe, Esquire, within this state, shall not be seized or confiscated in consequence of this act, if he shall return to this state on or before the

times were in store. There is structural evidence to support the tradition that even the leaded portions of the roofs were removed before the close of the war for making shot, thus exposing it to the weather. This must have been a severe blow to a building so highly architectural, ornamented primarily through the use of wood.

By the end of the Revolution the Colonel's health was lacking its old time vigor, and a long sea trip to these shores was not felt advisable. He seemed content in the hope that he would one day return to America and retained the keenest interest in his old friends on this side and the progress at Whitehall.[53] On his death in England on November 9, 1790, it was revealed that all his property in Maryland was to be transferred to the Ridouts. It was the long-standing affection between the two men which prompted this generous gesture of esteem, and not unrequited love for Mrs. Ridout, as has been so often related. The Ridouts had been married prior to commencement of the building of Whitehall, and letters from Sharpe, at the Ridout House on Duke of Gloucester Street in Annapolis, will attest to his lack of any desire to see her in later years.

It can be conclusively demonstrated by a comparison of the plantation accounts [54] with the structural remains, that the house existed without the additions of the bedrooms over the wings and stairwells as late as 1781. The description of the house as contained in the assessment records for Anne Arundel County show it to have been substantially in its present form in 1798.[55] It can be reasonably concluded that John Ridout between 1791 and 1798 brought about the removal of the extensions to the house and the outbuildings to gain material for the raising of the roof, increasing the practical liveableness of the house but removing from

first day of March seventeeen hundred and eighty-two, and within one month thereafter take and subscribe the oath of fidelity and support to this state, or dispose of his property to some subject of this or another of the United States. . . ."

[53] Horatio Sharpe to John Ridout, June 22, 1783, MS Division, Library of Congress; Sharpe to Dr. Upton Scott, July 31, 1785, May 1 and July 22, 1786, and other family letters in possession of Mrs. Dugan.

[54] The Whitehall plantation accounts in possession of the writer cover the period June, 1773, through December, 1780.

[55] " Ridout Mary—Brick Dwelling House. 2 story 50 by 20—2 Wings Joined by passage each 20 by 22—1 old Brick Stable 30 by 20—1 Smok House 13 by 10. 1 Grist Mill Wood 2 Story 30 by 22." Anne Arundel County Assessment Records (Broad Neck and Town Neck hundreds, assessed by Richard Menkin, " No. 8," p. [4]), Maryland Historical Society.

it as well much of the elegance that had but little place in the austerity that followed the war.[56]

It would be remiss to close without a word on behalf of the young woodcarver, who is said to have worked himself into an early grave that Whitehall might stand supreme in its ornamentation. Undoubtedly he did exist and, as the story goes, was indentured directly to the Governor. We look again at Buckland's drawing for the unusual hall ornaments and at the delicately carved designs that have evolved from piecing together fragments from the dirt of the garret over the east pavilion. They had been carefully stored away, wrapped in cotton and paper after removal from the walls, and exist today in sufficient quantity to make a successful restoration possible.

When inquiry was made of Sir Leigh Ashton of the Victoria and Albert Museum on the subject of how wooden ornaments would have been applied to plaster walls without the use of nails or cabinet maker's glue, the reply was received that it just was not done in England. Plaster ornaments were sized to plaster walls and wooden ornaments glued or nailed to wooden surfaces or panels. Here again in this far off part of the world there were perhaps no casts from which such decorations could be moulded or no plasterer in the vicinity who could execute the work. This impractical and tremendously intricate task of ornamenting the walls and ceiling was assigned to the gifted young redemptioner who had caught the fancy and the admiration of Governor Sharpe, and the carvings were sized to the plaster walls as though they had been made of plaster.[57]

The house, grounds and original furnishings that Mrs. Story had acquired from the Ridouts were purchased by the late Francis P. Garvan in 1929 as part of his plan for the restoration of Annapolis, with the intention of offering the estate as a summer White House for the President. Since that time the old house has stood unoccupied and the furnishings have been dispersed. For a few years in between, the gardens bloomed again under the friendly

[56] "It would seem to have been an article of faith in the immediate post-revolutionary period in this province to disdain all beauty of religion or of the arts and crafts for an ultra-republican simplicity . . .;" Henry J. Berkley, "A Register of the Cabinet Makers and Allied Trades in Maryland, as Shown by the Newspapers and Directories, 1746 to 1820" in *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XXV (1930), 2.

[57] A gelatinous sizing still appears on the back side of many of the fragments, but the rosettes for the frieze of the wooden door frames shown glue on the under side.

care of Miss Sarah Henderson, and so it went till acquired by its present owners in 1946. The cycle has now been completed and, though changed, Whitehall again stands as a garden house serving as it did nearly 200 years ago: to please those who care for it and those of their friends who care to come and enjoy with them this lonely remnant of Maryland's all but forgotten Golden Age.

Acknowledgment

In carrying forward this work of preservation and exploration the writer is indebted to Mrs. C. Nelson Dugan of the Duke of Gloucester Street, Annapolis, and to Mr. Charles D. Ridout of St. Margaret's, Anne Arundel County. As collateral descendents of John Ridout, their contributions have been invaluable and their sincerity a measure of the truth so necessary in such an undertaking.

THE BALTIMORE COMPANY SEEKS ENGLISH SUBSIDIES FOR THE COLONIAL IRON INDUSTRY

By Keach Johnson

IN 1731 five of Maryland's leading citizens—Dr. Charles Carroll, Daniel Dulany, Benjamin Tasker, Charles Carroll and Daniel Carroll—formed a partnership in order to build a furnace on the Patapsco River and produce iron. This was the beginning of the Baltimore Company which became one of the largest and most important industrial organizations in colonial America and continued in operation well into the nineteenth century.

The members of the Baltimore Company were among the most powerful and prominent men in Maryland. All of them possessed substantial wealth and belonged to the small group of merchants and planters who dominated the economic and political life of the colony. Ambitious, aggressive and influential, they were representative of the new capitalistic class that was rising in the thirteen colonies. They were men of broad and diversified interests which touched every phase of Maryland life, the capital which they invested in the Baltimore Company being drawn from a variety of sources: land, trade, public life, the professions and money-lending. Thus, Dr. Carroll, who became one of the principal leaders of the "country party" which formed the nucleus of the opposition to Lord Baltimore and the proprietary group, was a merchant, land speculator and moneylender as well as a professional man.[1] In 1754 Dr. Carroll valued his estate, together

[1] Dr. Carroll's Account and Letter Books, which have been published in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (volumes XVIII-XXVII, 1923-1932), throw a flood of light on his multifarious commercial activities and are the best source of information available concerning his activities as a businessman. They begin in 1716 soon after Dr. Carroll came to Maryland and with the exception of the period from 1734 to 1742, continue without interruption until his death in 1755. Remarkably full and complete, they are an invaluable source of information for all phases of economic life in Maryland during the first half of the eighteenth century.

with that of his son, at £15,000 sterling.[2] Charles and Daniel Carroll, who were brothers and were distant cousins of Dr. Carroll, belonged to one of the great land-owning families of the province, their father possessing about sixty thousand acres of land at the time of his death in 1720.[3] In 1764 Charles Carroll placed a valuation of £88,380 on his possessions, adding that his annual net income was not less than £1,800.[4]

No figures are available to show how much Benjamin Tasker and Daniel Dulany were worth, but they were two of the wealthiest and most influential men in Maryland. Enjoying the favor of Lord Baltimore, they were prominent members of the inner circle which governed the colony, holding most of the important offices in the province during the course of their long and distinguished careers.[5] Dulany, moreover, was one of the leading lawyers in Maryland and the colony's principal speculator in western land, establishing the town of Frederick and bringing in German immigrants to settle his holdings in western Maryland.[6] At the time of his death in 1753, Dulany owned over 47,000 acres of land, of which 40,000 acres lay in Frederick County, the westernmost county in the province.[7]

When the partners organized the Baltimore Company, they hoped that Parliament could be persuaded to encourage the growth of the American iron industry. They felt that the need for action

[2] Dr. Carroll to William Black, May 8, 1754, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXVII (1932), 218.

[3] Kate Mason Rowland, *Life and Correspondence of Charles Carroll of Carrollton* (New York and London, 1898), I, 6, 11.

[4] Charles Carroll to his son, January 9, 1764, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XII (1917), 27. This is one of the letters written between Charles Carroll and his son, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, which have been published in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (volumes X-XVI, 1915-1921), as "Extracts from the Carroll Papers." Extending from about 1750 to 1775, these letters deal mainly with personal and political matters and refer only incidentally to the commercial interests of the family.

[5] Beginning as a member of the council, Tasker was appointed agent and receiver-general, officiated for a time as president of the council and, following Governor Ogle's death in 1752, served as acting governor of Maryland from May 4, 1752, to August 10, 1753. Dulany also served as councilman and receiver-general and, in addition, was appointed commissary-general, attorney-general, and judge of the admiralty court. *Maryland Historical Society, Fund Publication*, No. 34, Preface; *Archives of Maryland*, XXVIII (1908), 537-538, XXXI (1911), 3; Richard Henry Spencer, "Hon. Daniel Dulany, 1685-1753," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XIII (1918), 22.

[6] Charles Albro Barker, *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (New Haven, 1940), 23-24.

[7] Paul Henry Giddens, "The Public Career of Horatio Sharpe, Governor of Maryland 1753-1769," (Thesis, State University of Iowa Library), 82.

by Parliament was particularly urgent in the case of bar iron which, under the existing English tariff schedule, was burdened with a high import duty. Whereas the duty on colonial pig iron imported into England was only £0-3-9½ per ton,[8] the duty on colonial bar iron was £2-1-6 per ton [9] which, in the words of Dr. Carroll, was "So high as would Intirely Sink the proffits." [10] The partners, accordingly, urged upon their English correspondents the necessity of removing the duty and the desirability of obtaining, if possible, the payment of bounties on the importation of colonial bar iron.[11]

The proposal that Parliament should take steps to promote the development of the American iron industry was by no means original with the members of the Baltimore Company. It had been a major issue in England for a decade before the company was formed. Soon after the close of the War of the Spanish Succession, colonial agents and representatives, joined by Englishmen who were interested in the colonial iron industry, began to urge the Board of Trade to recommend the removal of all duties from colonial iron and the payment of bounties. The rapid growth of the colonial iron industry during the next few years coupled with troubled relations with Sweden, the source from which the English iron manufacturers drew most of their bar iron, confronted Englishmen with the necessity of defining their attitude toward American iron and of formulating a policy. Whether this policy should be designed to encourage or restrain the colonial ironmasters precipitated a heated debate which was to continue a number of years.[12]

Those who favored the growth of the colonial industry argued

[8] Arthur Cecil Bining, *British Regulation of the Colonial Iron Industry* (Philadelphia, 1933), 46.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] Letter to Charles Chiswell, March 31, 1736, n. n., Carroll-Maccubbin Papers (hereinafter referred to as C-MP), Maryland Historical Society. This letter is in Dr. Carroll's handwriting.

[11] Samuel Hyde to Benjamin Tasker and Company, January 31, 1737; draft of a letter to Samuel Hyde written by Dr. Carroll on April 20, 1737 and subsequently copied and sent to Hyde by Benjamin Tasker; C-MP.

[12] Bining, *op. cit.*, 32-48. This book is an excellent study of the attempts that were made by England to regulate the colonial iron industry during the period, 1715-1775. Bining devotes much attention to the attitudes of the various groups in England which were affected directly and indirectly by the rise of the iron industry in the colonies and shows how their conflicting views and interests complicated the problem of regulation and delayed action for a number of years. His monograph has been of great value in the preparation of this article and will be cited frequently in the next few pages.

that, if properly encouraged, the colonial ironmasters were capable of supplying England with the iron which she needed, thereby relieving her of her dangerous dependence on foreign sources, notably Sweden.[13] Pointing out that England imported, on an average, about 20,000 tons of bar iron annually and that Sweden took only a small amount of English goods in return, the advocates of a policy of encouragement estimated that this unfavorable trade balance resulted in the loss of £180,000 annually. This loss of wealth could be avoided, they declared, if steps were taken to promote the development of the colonial iron industry, as the colonists, lacking manufactures, would exchange their iron for finished products. Consequently, the national wealth would be increased, as there would be no outflow of specie, while trade and industry would be stimulated by the expanding American market and the increased demand for manufactured goods. In case of war or other difficulties, moreover, England would be assured of an uninterrupted supply of iron.[14]

Englishmen who opposed the growth of the American iron industry feared that the colonists, if permitted to continue the establishment of ironworks, would become dangerous competitors of the mother country in the production of pig and bar iron. They pointed out that the iron industry, next to the manufacture of woolens, was England's greatest industry, supporting at least 200,000 people. To encourage the production of iron in the colonies, they averred, would be to ruin the English industry and to bring suffering and distress to many classes of people. They

[13] England also imported some bar iron from Russia and Spain. Only a few thousand tons were obtained from Russia, however, while the amount purchased from Spain was very small. *Ibid.*, 55.

[14] Memoranda, "Reasons (wch may be objected against the manufacturing of Iron in the Plantations) Answer'd; and the benefit arising thereby consider'd" and "Reasons for incouraging the Importation of Iron, in Bars, from His Majesty's Plantations in America," n. d., n. n., William Wood MSS, 1730-1745, Library of Congress. The arguments presented in these memoranda are typical of those advanced by the proponents of a policy of encouragement. See Bining, *op. cit.*, 41-43, 45, 49-51, 56-57, 58.

The William Wood manuscripts cited above evidently are the papers of an English ironmaster of this name. Wood was a prominent and controversial figure during the period under consideration, attracting much attention with his scheme to control the English iron industry, and his claim that he had solved a problem which had occupied the attention of English ironmasters for a number of years—the substitution of mineral fuel for charcoal in smelting pig iron. See Thomas Southcliffe Ashton, *Iron and Steel in the Industrial Revolution* (Manchester, 1924), 24-26; also Paul Joseph Mantoux, *The Industrial Revolution in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1929), rev. ed. tr. by Marjorie Vernon, 295-296.

argued, therefore, that the colonial ironmasters should be restricted rather than encouraged and urged that the duties on all iron imported into Great Britain should be increased.[15]

It was against this background that the members of the Baltimore Company began to consider the possibility of obtaining assistance from Parliament. Aware of the struggle which had been going on in England and of the possibility that Parliament might restrict or suppress the production of bar iron, they proceeded cautiously, exploring the arguments which might be used in favor of colonial iron and discussing the best approach to take in presenting their case to the proper persons in England.

Apparently in order to bring together and summarize these preliminary discussions, Dr. Carroll prepared a memorandum in which he suggested a number of reasons why Parliament should encourage the production of American bar iron. In forwarding this paper to his associates for comment, Dr. Carroll informed them that it represented his thoughts " on the head we talked of." If they approved his arguments, Dr. Carroll suggested that Tasker send the memorandum " to Mr. Bladen [16] who no doubt will let him have his Sense thereof." [17]

In arguing that Parliament should encourage the colonists to produce bar iron, Dr. Carroll contrasted the great natural wealth of the colonies with the growing scarcity of raw materials in Great Britain. He observed that the forests of Great Britain and Ireland were depleted and that wood had grown scarce, forcing many ironworks to shut down. The woods which remained, he asserted, should be preserved or used for more valuable purposes than the making of charcoal. Virginia and Maryland, on the other hand, as well as the colonies north of them, possessed in abundance all of the raw materials which were needed to make iron: " great Quantetys of the best Kind of Iron ore & Such as makes the Tougheste & best Kind of Iron for ship & many other

[15] Bining, *op. cit.*, 35-36, 42, 59.

[16] Evidently Colonel Thomas Bladen who was Benjamin Tasker's brother-in-law. He was also the brother-in-law of Charles, fifth Lord Baltimore, who was the proprietor of the province from 1715 to 1751. See " Tasker Family " and " Bladen Family " by Christopher Johnston, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, IV (1909), 191-192, V (1910), 297-299; also " The Calvert Family " by J. B. C. Nicklin, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XVI (1921), 50-59.

Colonel Thomas Bladen was a native of Maryland but left the province and went to England to live. He was Governor of Maryland from 1742 to 1747 and was later a member of Parliament for Old Sarum.

[17] Dr. Carroll to Charles Carroll, January 1, 1733, C-MP.

works" together with a plentiful supply of wood and "commodious Runs" to furnish water power for furnaces and forges. The American colonies, therefore, "with Suitable Judgment & Labour" were capable of supplying "in a great measure" the bar iron which England needed provided they were given "Suitable Encouragement." [18]

Turning next to the reasons why Parliament should help the colonists to develop their resources, Dr. Carroll alluded briefly to the difficulties and problems involved in establishing ironworks in a new country. Pointing out that "Labour is Dear from the Scarcity of People" and that "our Navigation [to the English market] is Long and Freight Consequently Dear," he declared that colonial ironmasters, despite the wealth of raw materials at hand, were compelled to bear high production and transportation costs. Dr. Carroll placed most of his emphasis, however, on the many advantages which Great Britain would realize from the development of the colonial iron industry. Chief among these would be the stimulus given to trade and industry, as the production of iron would swell the exports of the colonists to Great Britain, thereby adding to their purchasing power and increasing their consumption of British merchandise. Moreover, having the means to buy British manufactured products, they would abandon their attempts to manufacture these goods at home.[19]

Arguing that the colonists turned to manufacturing from necessity rather than choice, Dr. Carroll asserted that the colonies to the north of Maryland had resorted to the production of woolens "& other arts Interfering with the trade & product of their Mother Countery" because they had "no certain Staples to Make Remittance to Great Britain whereby they May be Suplyd in Return with Necessary's." A similar situation prevailed in Maryland and Virginia where "the Low State of their Staple Tobacco is Such & has been for Some time that it does not Suply the makers with Common necessarys, their Lands in Many places theroley Rendered Useless and Several Famelys Intirely Ruined. . . ." Consequently, the planters were compelled to raise flax and wool and to manufacture cloth. These activities along with the "many other Shifts" to which the planters had turned in their "certain Poverty" had considerably reduced Great Britain's exports to

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] *Ibid.*

Maryland and Virginia.[20] On the other hand, when the price of tobacco was high enough to enable the planters to buy their necessities in the British market, " they Intirely laid by Such Manufactures of their Own & Chose to be Suplyd from Great Britain." [21]

In view of these facts, Dr. Carroll felt that there was little basis for the British fear that the colonists, if encouraged to produce bar iron, would manufacture it into finished products. Referring again to the fact that there were few artisans in the colonies and that their labor was " Extream Dear," he thought there was little likelihood of competition with the British manufacturers who enjoyed the advantage of cheap labor. Colonial forge owners, he averred, would find it to their advantage, espe-

[20] Dr. Carroll does not seem to have exaggerated the economic distress which prevailed in Maryland, although he may have magnified the extent to which the inhabitants were raising wool and flax and making their own clothing. In this connection it is interesting to note the different viewpoints expressed in two statements which were made while the Assembly was in session in 1731, one by the Lower House in a message to the Upper House and the other by the two houses in a joint report which they prepared on the economic life of the province in answer to various questions which had been submitted by the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations.

The message of the Lower House was occasioned by the fear that Great Britain might take steps to interfere with the production of woolen and linen cloth in the colonies. Calling attention to the fact that the House of Commons had recently considered a motion " to prevent the setting up, or to Discourage the Improvement " of woolen, linen, and iron manufactures in the colonies, the Lower House reminded the upper house that tobacco was Maryland's only staple " & the produce of that Comodity the only Dependance the People have of getting Common Necessarys for themselves & their Familys from Great Britain." The Lower House then stated, " That at present & for some Years past, the produce of Tobacco has been so far from being Sufficient to furnish People with Clothing even of the Coarsest sort, That great Numbers of the Inhabitants might have gone Naked had they not Manufactured a little Wooll & Flax, and by their Industry that way made up in some Measure the Deficiency of the Necessary's wch their Cropps of Tobacco would not Supply them wth." This being the case, the Lower House declared that if Parliament attempted " to hinder the People here from making such Necessarys for themselves . . . their Condition would be as deplorable as can be conceived." August 26, 1731, *Archives of Maryland*, XXXVII (1917), 267-268.

In their joint report, on the other hand, the two houses, although stating that tobacco did not provide the inhabitants of Maryland " with one halfe of the Necessarys of Life," tended to minimize the amount of cloth being manufactured in the province, declaring that the people had continued " in the old beaten Tract so long " that they were incapable of carrying on " any considerable Trade or Manufacturers." Although " some of the Poorer Sort of People in Severall parts of the Country " had been driven by " Extreme want and Necessity " to make " some Small quantities of Coarse Linnen & Woollen " for their own use, very few, if any of them, according to the two houses, made enough to supply their own needs and, as a consequence, no cloth was exported from the province. September 4, 1731, *ibid.*, 291-293.

[21] Dr. Carroll to Charles Carroll, January 1, 1733, C-MP.

cially if encouraged by the payment of a bounty, to ship their bar iron to England and import manufactured goods in return. In any event, however, Dr. Carroll argued

> that the want of Export to great Britain from the Plantations Hurt the Nation More in Lessening the Export of Wollens to those Plantations who mostly Stand in need of them then any ill consequences that would Ensue Makeing Barr Iron in his Majesty's Plantations & Encourageing the Same under Proper Restrictions & these Such as may Enable the Makers to get reasonable Proffit adequate to the Great Risque & charge that attends.[22]

Concluding that Great Britain stood to gain much more than she would lose, Dr. Carroll declared that it was clearly to her interest to encourage the production of bar iron in the colonies. Summarizing the benefits which Great Britain would receive from the adoption of such a policy, he stated that it would bring about " an Aditionall Importation of Wealth," from the colonies, stimulate commerce and industry, furnish work for many of the unemployed and provide additional outlets for the investment of capital. Dr. Carroll pointed out that some English capitalists already owned ironworks in the colonies and predicted that many more would invest in such enterprises if the industry were properly encouraged. Finally, Great Britain would be relieved of her dependence on foreign sources and would be sure of a supply of iron in case of war with Sweden or Spain.[23]

Having outlined the case for American iron and suggested the arguments which might be used in presenting it to the authorities in England, Dr. Carroll raised several questions regarding the measures which might be adopted to encourage the production of bar iron in the colonies and Parliament's attitude toward these measures. Would Parliament be willing to grant a bounty to the importers of bar iron produced in the colonies and imported in British vessels? Would colonial bar iron " Imported as Before tho no Bounty allow'd " be subject to the duty on foreign iron and if so, could Parliament be induced to remove the duty? Was it " the Sense of the Nation in Parliament " or of the Board of Trade that the production and importation of colonial bar iron would injure British trade and industry? Was it to be apprehended that Parliament would prohibit the erection of forges in the colonies? [24]

[22] *Ibid.* [23] *Ibid.* [24] *Ibid.*

When Dr. Carroll submitted his memorandum to the other members of the company, Dulany found his arguments "very rational" and "of great consequence" but urged the need for caution. In view of the struggle going on in England over the question of American iron, Dulany advised his colleagues to prepare the ground carefully before taking any action. Suggesting that their first step should be to obtain Lord Baltimore's support, he doubted that it would be wise to send Dr. Carroll's memorandum to England "in order to have it communicated to people of weight" until they had shown it to "his Lordship" who, he hoped, would recommend it to the proper officials. As for Dr. Carroll's suggestion that Tasker might send the memorandum to Mr. Bladen, Dulany thought that it would be well for Tasker to write Bladen in order to ascertain "the Sense of people at the helm, or indeed of the Parliament" concerning the question of encouraging or restricting the production of bar iron in the colonies. Pointing out, moreover, that the memorandum might be expanded and additional arguments included, he suggested that they consult Colonel Spotswood, "Who is a man of Sense, Interested in the thing, and has an opportunity (which no doubt he made use of) to Inform himself of a great many things that we are Strangers to." [25] If the members of the Principio Company were interested in the question, it would not be amiss to write to them for assistance.[26] Dulany warned his associates in conclusion that hasty action might do more harm than good,

[25] Colonel Spotswood, who served as lieutenant-governor of Virginia from 1710 to 1722, played an important part in establishing the iron industry in that colony. The London Company had built a furnace at Falling Creek near Jamestown in 1619, but it had been destroyed by the Indians in 1622. No further attempt was made to produce iron in Virginia until Colonel Spotswood erected a furnace at Germanna on the Rapidanna River about 1716. Kathleen Bruce, *Virginia Iron Manufacture in the Slave Era* (New York and London, 1931), 6-11.

Dulany's proposal to consult Colonel Spotswood evidently sprang from the fact that the latter had been quite active in the movement to persuade the English authorities to subsidize the production of American iron. He had achieved a measures of success, as it was partly as a result of his efforts—and those of William Byrd—that the English duty on American pig iron was only £0-3-9 ½ per ton. Bining, *op. cit.*, 39, 46, 49.

[26] The Principio Company consisted of a group of English ironmasters, capitalists and merchants who started the iron industry in Maryland. During the period 1715-1725, they erected a furnace and two forges at the head of Chesapeake Bay in the area around Principio Creek and the Northeast River. For an account of the Principio Company, see Henry Whitely, "The Principio Company," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XI (1887), 63-68, 190-98, 288-95; also, Earl Chapin May, *Principio to Wheeling, 1715-1945* (New York and London, 1945), 1-38.

declaring that he was inclined to act " with ye greatest caution in this Affair, lest the truthes in the paper, for want of being well recommended, Should be overlooked or disbelieved and the parliament instead of doing any thing to help us, be awaken'd to hasten the Restraint we are afraid of." [27]

Whether the company took any action on Dr. Carroll's memorandum or Dulany's suggestions is not evident, as there is no further reference to the proposals of the two men. Perhaps the members decided to postpone action for the time being and to wait until circumstances in England were more favorable to their cause. In any case, there is nothing to indicate that they took any further steps until Dr. Carroll went to England on behalf of the company in 1734-1735.

Dr. Carroll's visit coincided with a renewal of the controversy over American iron which broke out again in 1735.[28] Several factors were responsible for the re-opening of the question. Once again relations with Sweden had an important bearing on the issue. In 1734 Sweden forbade the importation of various kinds of English goods and placed a duty that was almost prohibitive upon all other imports except woolen hose and yarn, thereby strengthening the demand that the duties on American bar iron be removed. Secondly, the importation of bar iron from the colonies first became important in 1735 when Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia shipped fifty-five tons—a relatively large amount—to England. The uneasiness which these shipments aroused among English forge masters, already apprehensive over the possibility of colonial competition, was probably enhanced when the navy yards tested the American iron and found, with one exception, that it was equal in quality to the best Swedish iron.[29] Finally,

[27] Daniel Dulany to Benjamin Tasker, January 2, 1733, C-MP.

[28] The material in this paragraph is taken from Bining, *op. cit.*, 54-57.

[29] The tests conducted by the navy apparently were made chiefly with Maryland iron imported by the Crowley Firm which carried on extensive operations near Newcastle and manufactured iron on a large scale. On July 11, 1735, in response to an order from the Navy Board, John Banister, the manager for the Crowley Firm, sent six of twenty-five tons of bar iron that he had imported from Maryland to the navy yard at Deptford which kept one ton and sent the balance to the other five yards. The officers of the six yards agreed unanimously that the iron equalled, if it did not surpass, the best Swedish bar iron. Their reports were confirmed by the Crowley factory at Swalwell where Banister had shipped most of the remaining Maryland iron. The factory expressed a desire for more of this iron, describing it as " very good, sound, Iron, and Tough enough for any sort of Ware that was made there."

A year later the navy made another test of iron which the Crowley Firm had

and probably most important of all, in 1735 the British iron industry entered a depression which the iron manufacturers and merchants attributed to the loss of American markets. Declaring that the colonists were keeping their iron at home and manufacturing it into finished products, the manufacturers and merchants renewed their demands for the suppression of all colonial iron manufactures and for legislation to encourage the colonists to ship their pig and bar iron to England.

Despite the renewed interest in American iron, Dr. Carroll advised his colleagues that there was little likelihood that Parliament would do anything to encourage the production of iron in the colonies. Writing from London on March 3, 1735, he appraised the situation in the following terms:

> There is no Carrying anything here without the force of money or aplycation of Politicks to answer tho never So consistent with reason. Is reason Justice refined, or Justice reason refined.
>
> Private Intrest here Renders the Plantations a Strange Raw Head and Bloody Bones as if all that hear talk of them were Children and to be frightened. By what I can collect in general you Stand a Poor Chance Unless things are better represented in your favour or indeed represented at all for I hear of no friend of consequence you have.
>
> I believe you Must Expect Nothing to be done this Session in favour of Iron.[30]

Dr. Carroll's prediction proved to be correct, as Parliament

imported from the colonies. On June 10, 1736, Banister sent 2,006 bars of American iron weighing about twenty-five tons to the navy yard at Deptford. With the exception of four tons imported from Philadelphia, all of it was Maryland iron "and from the same Work, as the Iron delivered in July 1735." This time, however, the officers at Deptford rejected the iron, reporting that most of it was brittle and too much like cast iron to be fit for the navy's use.

The results of this test did not discourage Banister who felt that the flaws which were revealed were due to careless workmanship rather than to any deficiency in the iron itself. He thought that if the iron had been properly "drawn," it would have turned out as well as that tested in 1735. "6 March 1736 Mr. Bannistr concerning some Plantation Iron Imported by Mrs. Crowley"; "Officers Report of Iron Imported from America," 1735-1736; William Wood MSS, 1730-1745, Library of Congress.

Although Banister did not say who produced the iron which he imported from Maryland, it was probably made by the Principio Company. It is possible, however, that some Baltimore iron was included in the tests conducted by the navy. Several years later, in assuring Samuel Hyde that the bar iron which the Baltimore Company sent him was "of the Best Tough Sort" which could be made, Dr. Carroll stated "that about the year 1735 a Report was made from the Kings Docks (I think to the Board of Admiralty) in favour of the Quality of this Iron and in wch Report it was Said to be Equal to the best Swedish Iron. . . ." Dr. Carroll to Samuel Hyde, October 27, 1740, C-MP.

[30] Dr. Carroll to Charles Carroll, London, March 3, 1735, C-MP.

took no action in 1735. This did not settle the matter, however, and the controversy grew in intensity during the next few years as the depression in the English iron industry became more acute.[31] The champions of American iron continued their agitation for free importation, Samuel Hyde, one of the principal London correspondents of the Baltimore Company, writing the partners on January 31, 1737, that if the attitude of the ministry proved encouraging, " it is proposed to apply to Parliament this Session to Import Barr Iron duty free." Hyde assured the partners that he would not be remiss in promoting " whatever may be for the benefit of Maryland," adding that he would advise them if the movement to remove the duty seemed likely to succeed.[32]

Wishing Hyde success in " So Laudable an Endevour," Dr. Carroll replied that if the ministry understood clearly " the Great advantages " which the increased importation of iron from the colonies would confer on England, they would not only try to remove the duty but would also seek to encourage " the first Undertakers " by granting a bounty to the importers of colonial iron.[33]

In order to further the efforts of their friends in England, the members of the Baltimore Company contributed from time to time to the funds which were raised to finance the movement on behalf of colonial iron. After a while, however, despairing of favorable action by Parliament, they discontinued these payments, instructing their correspondents in England to pay no more " Towards Aplycation to Parliament for Liberty to Import Iron Duty Free for its vain to Burthen our Selves with Expences for a matter wch is realy the nations Intrest in generall, Since Theres no probability of Success." [34]

The deadlock which had existed in England for thirty years over the question of American iron was not broken until 1750 when the menace of war led Parliament to pass a measure to encourage the production of pig and bar iron in the colonies. Growing tension with Sweden which had become an ally of

[31] Bining, *op. cit.*, 56-62.

[32] Samuel Hyde to Banjamin Tasker and Company, January 31, 1737, C-MP.

[33] Draft of a letter to Samuel Hyde which was written by Dr. Carroll on April 20, 1737 and was copied and sent to Hyde by Banjamin Tasker, C-MP.

[34] Copy of a letter from Dr. Carroll to William Black, July 22, 1742, C-MP. Dr. Carroll's instructions to Black were the result of a decision made several months before when Charles Carroll proposed that the payments be discontinued and the other members approved his proposal. Charles Carroll to Benjamin Tasker and Company, March 18, 1742, C-MP.

France, the threat of hostilities in the Baltic between Sweden and Russia whom Britain was obligated to support under certain conditions, and the fear that England might become involved in another great struggle were the principal factors which ended the stalemate and tipped the balance in favor of the iron manufacturers, merchants, and other protagonists of a policy of encouragement.[35] Their victory was not complete, however, as the act of 1750 was a compromise. Although the duty on pig iron imported from the colonies was removed, the tax on colonial bar iron was lifted only in the case of London, being retained for all of the other ports of Great Britain. Moreover, the bar iron shipped to London could not be carried more than ten miles from the city except to the navy yards.[36]

The provisions of the act relating to the manufacture of finished products in the colonies also represented a compromise, as they were designed to restrict rather than suppress. Existing colonial manufactures were not affected by the act, but the erection of additional works such as slitting mills, plating forges, and steel furnaces was forbidden.[37]

The act of 1750 was a disappointment to the members of the Baltimore Company who thought that it did not go far enough. Although the partners welcomed the lifting of the duties on pig and bar iron, they were critical of Parliament's failure to provide for the payment of bounties on the importation of American iron. Believing that the payment of bounties was necessary for the growth of the colonial iron industry, they felt that the act of 1750 was inadequate and would fail to achieve the purposes which it was intended to accomplish. Their views were admirably summed up by Dr. Carroll who saw in the act of 1750 another instance of Great Britain's failure to appreciate the value of

[35] Ashton, *op. cit.*, 118-119; Bining, *op. cit.*, 64-65.

[36] Parliament seems to have granted the privilege of free importation to London and its environs because the city was remote from the chief producing areas of England and was largely dependent on Swedish iron. Consequently, in permitting the admittance of colonial bar iron into the London area duty free, Parliament hoped to strike a blow at Sweden without causing much injury to the English forge masters. Ashton, *op. cit.*, 119-120.

London did not long retain the privileged position which it enjoyed under the act of 1750. Merchants and iron manufacturers in other cities soon began to petition Parliament to extend the free importation of American bar iron to all the ports of Great Britain. This was done shortly after the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, a law being enacted in 1757 which permitted colonial bar iron to enter all the ports of Great Britain without the payment of duties. Bining, *op. cit.*, 74-76.

[37] Bining, *op. cit.*, 70-74.

America's raw materials and to take adequate steps to exploit them.

Dr. Carroll believed that America's resources could not be fully developed without the aid of the British Government. A prototype of the American businessman of the nineteenth century who believed in subsidies as well as rugged individualism, he asserted that the colonists did not have sufficient capital to perfect their resources and that Great Britain should subsidize the growth of American industry and agriculture. Arguing that such a policy would be as beneficial to the mother country as to the colonies, he declared that England had not given proper consideration to the development of America's resources and that the measures which Parliament had enacted to that end were inadequate. Citing bar iron and hemp as examples, Dr. Carroll observed that it was " Surprizing to Consider that so wise & great a nation as Britain is have not more perfectly Encouraged Two so Useful and necessary Materials for Supporting the Arts of peace and War," particularly in view of her dependence on Sweden and Spain for these materials. He declared that experience had demonstrated that the bounty which Parliament had granted for American hemp—six pounds a ton—was insufficient to encourage the production of that commodity in the colonies and predicted that Parliament's attempt to encourage the importation of American pig and bar iron by removing the duties would prove to be equally unsuccessful.[38]

Elaborating his prediction, Dr. Carroll stated that under existing conditions, the American iron industry was incapable of freeing England from her dependence on Sweden and Spain for bar iron. He pointed out that Pennsylvania, New York, and New England required a great quantity of bar iron for farming, " Land Carriage," and shipbuilding and that the furnaces and forges in those colonies were hardly able to do more than meet local demands. Much the same situation prevailed in Maryland. Aside from the Principio Company which exported some bar iron to England, the forges in the province did little more than supply

[38] Dr. Carroll to his son (Charles), n. d. (probably January or February 1753), *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXV (1930), 66. Dr. Carroll's son became known as Charles Carroll the Barrister and, as one of the leaders of the opposition in Maryland to British policy during the period 1763-1775, played a prominent part in public life during the Revolution.

local needs. In Virginia there was only one forge and that produced but little.[39]

Dr. Carroll then declared that there was little possibility of increasing production along the seaboard because of the growing shortage of raw materials in that region. Wood was beginning to be scarce along the navigable rivers and streams, land had become too expensive to purchase " for such use as Iron Works," and there was an acute shortage of ore in some places. Most of the furnaces and forges in Pennsylvania were located forty miles or more from the tidewater. In Maryland there was " no Certainty of Ore near the navigable water " except along the Patuxent, Patapsco, and Back Rivers, and these deposits had already been appropriated.[40]

Conditions were worse in Virginia and the Carolinas. In the former colony, Colonel Spotswood was the only one who possessed a supply of ore near the tidewater. The Principio and Bristol Companies had been forced to abandon the furnaces which they had built in Virginia because of the lack of ore. Aside from Colonel Spotswood's works, the only other furnace in operation in Virginia was the one owned by Colonel Taylor who was compelled to import ore from Maryland in order to maintain production. In the Carolinas where the soil was sandy and did not provide a " suitable Bed for Iron Ore it Requiring a stiff marle or Clay," there was no ore except in the mountains which were 120 miles from any point where it could be transported by water.[41]

In the light of these conditions, Dr. Carroll thought that the removal of the English duties on American pig and bar iron would have little effect and that more vigorous action was required. He declared that Great Britain could obtain an adequate supply of bar iron from America only if she encouraged the expansion of the iron industry by subsidizing the erection of new works in the interior where there was an abundant supply of raw materials. Asserting that there was ore in " the Back parts " of all of the colonies from New York to North Carolina, Dr. Carroll stated that during his travels in the interior of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, he had seen " severall good appearances " of ore on both sides of the easternmost range of the mountains. He pointed out, however, that it would be difficult and costly to utilize these deposits, as they were located from 60 to 120 miles

[39] *Ibid.*, 67-68. [40] *Ibid.*, 68-69, 74. [41] *Ibid.*, 68, 75.

from the coast and could not be exploited until roads were built to connect them with the navigable streams.[42]

In view of " The great Difficulty which would attend the first undertakg in Iron works in those remote parts in Relation to the Expence of Carriage Scarcety of Workmen & Dearness of Labour," Dr. Carroll advocated that Parliament grant a bounty of three pounds a ton for thirty years on all American bar iron shipped to London. He also urged that Parliament set up a fund of thirty or forty thousand pounds which would be administered by the Board of Trade and lent at interest to those who desired to produce bar iron or hemp in America. All persons " of Repute & Credit " in the colonies and the mother country would be eligible to borrow from this fund provided they would agree to ship the bar iron or hemp which they produced to Great Britain and could provide adequate security.[43]

Asserting that the adoption of these proposals would provide the stimulus which was needed for the development of agriculture and industry in the colonies, Dr. Carroll pointed out that the bounty would defray the cost of transporting the bar iron and hemp from the interior to the seaboard, while the fund would furnish the colonists with the liquid capital which they needed to take advantage of their resources. Laying particular stress on the need for liquid capital, Dr. Carroll declared:

> I know of persons in this province of Undoubted Reputation & Credit that Could and would give good Landed & personal Security to the Value of five or Six Thousand Pounds who have lands & convenient Scituations with ore for erecting one or more Furnaces with Two or three Forges which in four or five Years would turn out three Hundd Ton of Bar Iron Yearly to be imported into Gr. Br. and these scituations are near the Mountains about Sixty Miles Cartage to Navigable Water, but must be useless for want of money to Carry them on, and many more there are who are possessed of extraordinary Land suitable for Hemp in the Back Parts, and Cannot Cultivate such Lands to the Purpose for want of Credit to Purchase servts or slaves tho' capable of giving good security.[44]

Dr. Carroll then turned to the benefits which England would derive from the program which he advocated. It would promote national security by providing England with " a considerable supply " of bar iron and hemp. It would conserve England's supply of specie and stimulate her commerce and industry. It

[42] *Ibid.*, 67, 69. [43] *Ibid.*, 67, 69, 71-72. [44] *Ibid.*, 72.

would encourage the colonists to settle the interior, a matter of no small importance in view of the activity of the French along the frontier and the danger that they might seize control of the Ohio Valley, thereby connecting their settlements on the Mississippi and St. Lawrence Rivers and " Intirely Surrounding on the Back the English Collonys." Dr. Carroll argued, in short, that his program would strengthen England economically, financially, and militarily.[45]

Whether Dr. Carroll's program would have achieved the results which he outlined is, of course, a matter of conjecture. Although some of the English merchants and iron manufacturers urged that bounties be paid on pig and bar iron imported from the colonies, Parliament took no further action to encourage the importation of American iron after removing the duties in 1750 and 1757.[46] These measures, as Dr. Carroll predicted, proved to be inadequate and failed to free England from her dependence on foreign sources. Although the amount of pig and bar iron which the colonies exported to the mother country during the fifties and sixties was somewhat larger than it had formerly been, it remained relatively small and met only a fraction of England's need.[47] During the period 1750-1775, as before, England was forced to rely heavily on Sweden and, to a lesser extent on Russia and Spain, for the bar iron which she needed.[48] In short, events justified Dr. Carroll's prediction that the removal of the duties would be ineffectual and that England must take more vigorous action if she hoped to obtain an adequate supply of bar iron from the colonies.

[45] *Ibid.*, 69, 73-74; Dr. Carroll to his son (Charles), June 22, 1753, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXVI (1931), 55-56.

[46] Bining, *op. cit.*, 78-80.

[47] *Ibid.*, 81-85.

[48] Toward the close of the Seven Years' War an English writer stated that in 1760 England imported 30,000 tons of bar iron from Sweden, 12,000 to 15,000 tons from Russia and about 1,000 tons from Spain. No figures are available to show how much iron England obtained from the colonies that year, but in 1761 she imported only 2,805 tons of American iron—2,766 tons of pig iron and 39 tons of bar iron—as against 42,328 tons of foreign iron, all of which consisted of bar iron. *Ibid.*, 78-85.

EBENEZER HAZARD'S TRAVELS THROUGH MARYLAND IN 1777

Edited by FRED SHELLEY [1]

EBENEZER HAZARD (1744/5-1817) may have received his first vivid impressions of Maryland when his father, a Philadelphia merchant, returned from a trip through the back country in 1755.[2] Soon Ebenezer began his studies at Dr. Samuel Finley's school, subsequently West Nottingham Academy, near the Maryland-Pennsylvania border. Benjamin Rush, Jacob Rush, and Dr. John Archer were among his classmates at this famous school. When Hazard completed his studies there, he went to the College of New Jersey (now Princeton) where he was graduated in 1762. Three years later he took his A. M. degree. He spent the decade 1765-1775 first as an apprentice to Garrat Noel, a New York bookseller, and later as his partner.[3] New York newspapers frequently carried advertisements inserted by Noel and Hazard.[4] Hazard spent a year, 1770-1771, in Great Britain and Scotland for reasons he nowhere explains. Probably he spent part of his time ordering books and stationery for the New York

[1] Acknowledgement is gratefully made to Mr. R. N. Williams, 2d, Director of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, who permitted this use of the journals now owned by the Society; to Mr. Oliver W. Holmes of the National Archives and a member of the Maryland Historical Society for many indispensable suggestions concerning inns and taverns of early Maryland; to Mrs. Edith Rossiter (William F.) Bevan, Mr. William B. Marye, Mr. J. G. D. Paul, Miss Elizabeth Merritt, Mrs. Francis F. (Rosamond Randall) Beirne, Mr. Raphael Semmes, Mr. Henry J. Fickus, Mr. and Mrs Marion V. Brewington, and the Editor for valuable comment and useful suggestions; and to Catherine M. Shelley who did much of the research necessary for identifying obscure names and places.

[2] Samuel Hazard to General Thomas Pownall, January 14, 1756, Hazard Letterbook, Princeton University Library. His trip covered 1,800 miles on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. Of the effects of the French and Indian War he wrote in part, " I saw great numbers of houses left desolate, fields of corn destroyed, and both going out and returning home I met droves of people who had fled from their habitations travelling with what little effects they could take with them to seek safety elsewhere."

[3] Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America* (Worcester, 1810), II, 445.

[4] *New York Gazette and the Weekly Mercury*, November 18, 1771, January 13 and 27, 1772, for example.

shop. He kept a two volume account of this journey.[5] In a third volume he recorded the events of a trip to Hartford, Pittsfield, and Albany, and return in 1772 and a trip up the west side of the Hudson River to Albany and Schenectady and return down the east side of the river in 1773.[6]

In the opening days of the Revolutionary War Hazard accepted an appointment as Postmaster of New York, a position he retained until his promotion two years later to Surveyor (*i. e.*, Inspector) of the Post Office. William Goddard of Maryland, the first Surveyor whom Hazard replaced, returned to Philadelphia and appeared to give up the whole American cause when he met General Washington retreating with the army from Newark. His resignation was immediately accepted.[7] Hazard spent the early months of 1777 finding reliable riders and trustworthy postmasters for the route from Philadelphia to Falmouth (Portland, Maine). Inflation, the necessary drain of manpower to the army, and the occupation of much of the coast line and the better roads near the coast by the enemy made the task difficult, but a reliable communication between the Continental Congress and the armies in the field was vitally necessary. Richard Bache, the Postmaster General, then directed Hazard to put the postal service from Philadelphia to Savannah in good order. "Mr. Hazard is now gone southward," John Adams wrote to Thomas Jefferson, "in the character of surveyor of the post office, and I hope will have as good success as he lately had, eastward, where he put the office into very good order." [8]

This assignment gave Hazard his first opportunity to see Maryland (aside from his youthful sojourn at Dr. Finley's academy) and the South. The two volumes containing the account of his Southern trips—from which these three extracts are taken—were presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1945 by Mr. Spencer Hazard and are now a part of that Society's manuscript collection.[9] Undoubtedly Hazard intended the two volumes

[5] Manuscript group number 1398, *Guide to the Manuscript Collections of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania* (2d ed., Philadelphia, 1950).

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Richard Bache to John Hancock, January 18, 1777, Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 61, I, 1-4, Library of Congress.

[8] May 26, 1777; Charles F. Adams (ed.), *Works of John Adams* (Boston, 1850-1856), IX, 467.

[9] Manuscript group number 1398, *Guide to the Manuscript Collections of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania* (2d ed., Philadelphia, 1950).

as a means of recalling observations that might later prove useful in the volume on American geography he was contemplating. Lacking the time to write the volume on geography, he permitted his friend, Jedidiah Morse, to use the journals.[10] While in Annapolis, he may also have copied some of the Maryland documents that appeared eventually in his *Historical Collections*.[11] Hazard traveled from Philadelphia to Edenton, North Carolina, and back between May 15 and July 8, 1777. His second trip took him from Philadelphia to Savannah between October 8, 1777, and March 5, 1778. Hazard spent the next few years in New England as postal Surveyor before his term as Postmaster General of the United States (1782-1789). He is not known to have returned to Maryland or the South until 1816, the year before his death, when he visited his son who had settled in Huntsville, Alabama.

The three extracts used here show Maryland in 1777 through the eyes of an experienced traveler, eager to see and to understand. It is thought that this description has never before been used by anyone interested in Maryland history. The story speaks largely for itself. Raised letters have been brought down to the line, and script s's have been eliminated. Abbreviations and variant spelling have been allowed to stand as in the original.

I: Elkton to Alexandria, May 16-22, 1777.

May 16th. Passed the Head of Elk,[12] and through Charlestown to Susquehannah Ferry. The Day has been rather sultry & very windy. The Head of Elk is a small Village situated on Elk River which empties itself, a few Miles from hence, into Chesopeak Bay. This Bay, as I am informed is about 250 Miles in Length, & its mean Breadth about 20. At the Head of it is Charlestown, situate upon a sandy or clayey Hill which commands an extensive & beautifully variegated Prospect. Before we came to Charlestown we crossed North-east, a Creek which empties into Chesopeak; there are Iron Works upon it, called the Principio Iron Works,[13] belonging to a Company in London. Between Charlestown & Susquehannah I passed an old Iron Work.[14] Charlestown is a small Country Town, & much

[10] Jedidiah Morse, *American Universal Geography* (Boston, 1793).

[11] In two volumes (Philadelphia, 1792-1794), I, 327, 594, 621, 623, 628.

[12] Elkton, Maryland.

[13] The well known iron works which date from the early 18th century. Accounts of the Company and its operations are to be had in Henry Whitely, "The Principio Company," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XI (1887), 63-68, 190-198, 288-295; James M. Swank, *History of the Manufacture of Iron in All Ages* (2d ed., Philadelphia, 1892), pp. 240-257; and E. C. May, *Principio to Wheeling*, 1715-1945 (New York and London, 1945).

[14] Probably part of Principio Company operations. Not shown in Christopher Colles, *A Survey of the Roads of the United States of America* (1789), Plates 55-56.

decayed; the Land about it is but little cultivated, & I should think would not repay the Trouble & Expence of Cultivation. Charlestown is surrounded with Shrubs, but as you recede from it the Timber is larger. Susquehannah Ferry is a wild, bleak Place within about a Mile of Chesopeak Bay; it is about a Mile & a quarter wide; the Depth at low Water about 5 Fathoms. Met a Company of Virginians going to Phila.—they have been inoculated lately. Lodged at Rodger's at Susquehannah Ferry. A very good House.[15]

[May] 17th. Rode through Harford Town [16] (formerly called Bush Town, a very small shabby Place, though a County Town) past Onion's [17] & other Iron Works, to Baltimore. Harford Town is situate on a Creek commonly called Bush River. At Onions Iron Works (now converted into Mills) is a very dangerous Ford. A good Tavern is kept on the Road to Baltimore by a man who has the singular Name of *Godsgrace*.[18] The Road has been exceeding good today, the Country in general sandy. Baltimore is a very small Town, situate upon Patapsco River. The Houses generally of Brick. A little above it is Fell's Point, a Neck of Land on which are a Number of Houses. Lodged at Grant's, a good House.[19] Met a Company of Maryland Troops today, on their way to Phila.[20] Baltimore is the Capital of Baltimore County.

[May] 18th. Crossed the lower Ferry over a Branch of Patapsco River; this Ferry is about half a Mile wide, & I am informed there is a sufficient Depth of Water to admit a Vessel with 4 or 500 Hhds. of Tobacco on board. The Harbour of Baltimore is fortified, & a Frigate commanded by

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[15] Colonel John Rodgers (ca. 1726-1791), the father of Commodore John Rodgers, opened a tavern in Susquehannah Lower Ferry (now Havre de Grace) in 1774. About six years later he moved to Cecil County across the river where for some years he kept a tavern. It is the latter tavern which appears on Griffith's 1794 map of Maryland and which is now marked. C. O. Paullin, *Commodore John Rodgers* (Cleveland, 1910), pp. 16-19.

[16] Harford Town, on Bush River, seven miles southeast of Bel Air, was the county seat of Harford County from 1774 to 1781. It had population of 130 in 1798. Walter W. Preston, *History of Harford County* (Baltimore, 1901), pp. 67-69, 268; a photograph of the site is reproduced opposite p. 64.

[17] At the head of tidewater on Little Falls of Gunpowder River at or near present crossing of the older of the two present Philadelphia roads. It was founded by Stephen Onion who died in 1754. Obituary appeared in the *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis) for August 29, 1754, p. 2; see also Swank, *op. cit.*, pp. 241-243.

Onion's does not appear in Colles, *op. cit.*, Plates 58-59, but the Nottingham and Kingsbury ironworks do.

[18] Red Lion Inn, 13½ miles from Baltimore on the main road to Philadelphia, believed to have been built about 1760. Godsgrace was one of a series of proprietors. Clement Skerrett advertized the reopening of the tavern in the *Maryland Journal* (Baltimore), November 12, 1784, p. 4.

[19] The Fountain Inn on Light Street, identified by a "limpid, gushing sign," the best tavern in the city. J. T. Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Philadelphia, 1881), p. 513, and Mathew Page Andrews, *The Fountain Inn Diary* (New York, 1948), pp. 11-85.

[20] Probably a unit of one of the five regiments of militia raised by Maryland in 1777; Scharf, *History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1879), II, 308-309.

Capt. Nicholson lies there at present.[21] Rode past the Head of Severn to Annapolis. The Road is sandy & hilly; the Land in many Places very deep; the Country between Baltimore & Annapolis in general barren, producing only Shrubs & Pines. The Woods through which I have rode since I left Charlestown are beautifully decorated with wild Flowers of various Kinds, such as Honey Suckles, a kind of blue Flower, yellow white, & red Flowers, & a Kind, which from their Appearance I take to be a Species of Tulip.[22] The Road I have travelled today runs through several Fields, at each Side of which is a Gate. Annapolis is the Capital of Maryland, situate in Ann Arundel County, on the Bank of the River Severn. Though an old City it is but small, but a Number of the Houses are elegant, built of Brick. The State House is a large Brick Building 119 Feet long & 99 wide; it is two Stories high; on the Top of it is a Cupola, covered with Copper, as I am informed the whole of the Roof has been, but the Copper has been taken off.[23] This Building is not yet finished. Lodged at Mrs. Johnson's.[24]

[May] 19th. Went to view the City; it is fortified with three Batteries, on which a suitable Number of Cannon is mounted: A Creak waters it on each Side, & in the Front of it the River Severn empties itself into Chesopeak Bay; a Canal of about a Mile in Length would completely insulate the Point of Land on which it stands. There is a Play House & an Assembly Room here: the former being locked up I could not view the inside of it (am informed it is used at present as a Church.) the latter is Spacious & neat, & I think well calculated to answer the Purpose for which it was built; the orchestra is elevated in the Manner of a Gallery,

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[21] Captain James Nicholson (ca. 1736-1804), then senior captain in the U. S. Navy and in command of the Frigate *Virginia* which had been built in Baltimore. The *Virginia* was lost to the British in the spring of 1778. Nicholson, born in Chestertown, Maryland, was living on the Eastern Shore when the Revolution began. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIII, 502-503.

[22] Mrs. Bevan kindly supplied the following information about these flowers: " In mid-May you will find in the woods of Harford and Baltimore counties quantities of wild azalea (*Rhododenron nudiflorum*) a dwarf shrub with striking flowers in shades of deep rose, pink, and white. I have heard this called wild honeysuckle in New England. The blue flower was probably wild blue phlox (*Phlox divaricata*), for it blooms the same time and in the same kind of woods. The red flowers were without doubt columbine (*aquilegia canadensis*) for it too blooms the same time and in the same places and is the only red flower that blooms in the Spring. The low-growing Trout Lily, often called Dog Tooth Violet (*Erythronium americanum*) grows in dense patches in the same woods and resembles a specie of wild tulip. So many of our Spring flowers are white or yellow that it is impossible to identify what he saw, but no doubt he saw bloodroot (*Sanguinaria canadensis*) one of the loveliest, starriest flowers that grows in great drifts in rather open woods."

[23] See " A Description of the State-House at Annapolis, the Captial of Maryland " in *The Columbian Magazine*, III (February, 1789), 81-82, and Elihu S. Riley, *The Ancient City* (Annapolis, 1887), pp. 161-164. A picture of the Capitol and other public buildings as they appeared about 1841 may be found on the cover of the June 1946 issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLI (1946); descriptive remarks about the picture are on page 171.

[24] Apparently Mrs. Johnson was not a well known tavern-keeper nor does it seem likely that she kept one of the larger taverns of the time.

& the Musicians go into it by a private Stairs. At the opposite End of the Room, over the Fire Place is an elegant whole Length Picture of Mr. Pitt, done by Peal. He is habited like a Roman; his right Hand points to a Figure of the Goddess of Liberty, with her Wand & Cap, & in his left he holds Magna Charta. Near him is the Altar of Liberty, from which a Flame arises, & near the Flame lies a Wreath of Laurel. On the Side of the Altar is this Inscription, " Sacer Amor Patriae dat Animum." [25] At each End of this Room is a small one for Retirement & Cards. Some of the Gentlemen's Houses & Gardens are elegant; particularly the House of a young Gentleman of the name of Hammond,[26] & the Garden of Charles Carrol Esqr. of Carrolton; this latter is most delightfully situated.[27] Near the City are the Ruins of an elegant House, which was intended for the Residence of the Governor, but serves now only for a Monument of the Extravagance & Meanness of a former Assembly.[28] It was begun about 20 Years ago, & the Walls, which were of Brick, were carried to their full Heighth, but as the House was built upon a little larger Plan & would cost more money than the Assembly expected, they would not finish it, but suffered it to go to Ruin. There was some Rain yesterday, & this Day has been very wet. The State House in Annapolis is built in the Center of a circular Piece of Ground, & the Streets of the City proceed from the Circumference of the Circle, like a Continuation of its Radii. There is now no Place of public Worship in the City, the Church having been pulled down that a new one might be built in the Place where it stood: Materials for the new one are collected, but the Building is not yet begun.[29]

[May] 20th. Much Rain fell last Night and this Morning; when it ceased I set out for Upper Marlborough which is a small Village in Prince George's County, Maryland. Crossed South River about 3 Miles from Annapolis; it is, as near as I can judge, three Quarters of a Mile wide, rises about seven Miles above the Ferry, & empties into Chesopeak Bay within Sight of it. Dined at Rawlin's [30] 8 Miles from the Ferry, & after

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[25] " The holy love of country lends courage." The portrait still hangs in the State House.

[26] The Hammond-Harwood House, built by Matthias Hammond (1748-1786). See Riley, *op. cit.*, pp. 306-307, and Rosamond Randall Beirne and Edith Rossiter Bevan, *The Hammond-Harwood House and Its Owners* (Annapolis, 1941), pp. 5-35.

[27] For comment on the Carroll garden, see Edith Rossiter Bevan's " Gardens and Gardening in Maryland " in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLV (1950), 256-257.

[28] " Bladen's Folly," begun ca. 1742 as the Governor's Mansion but left unfinished until after 1784 and now McDowell Hall, St. John's College. See David Ridgely, *Annals of Annapolis* (Baltimore, 1841), pp. 237-238; Riley, *op. cit.*, pp. 98, 208; and Rebecca Key, " A Notice or Some of the First Buildings With Notes of Some of the Early Residents " in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XIV (1919), 262-263.

[29] St. Anne's Episcopal Church. The rebuilding of the church was not completed until 1792. This structure was destroyed by fire in 1858. See Riley, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-76, and Ethan Allen, *Historical Notices of St. Ann's Parish* (Baltimore, 1857), pp. 84-98.

[30] Usually spelled " Rawlings," this tavern appears on Griffith's 1794 map of Maryland and in Colles, *op. cit.*, Plate 63.

riding 4 Miles more came to another Ferry about a Quarter of a Mile wide, across Patuxent, which divides Ann Arundel & Prince George's Counties. I should have been rowed across this by two young Women if I had not taken the Oar from one of them.

The Road today has been very hilly & sandy; the Sand deep, & had it not been for the Rain, the Traveling would have been very tedious. Passed through thirty two Gates today. Saw in my Way a small red Bird, such as I do not remember to have met with to the Northward. Houses for curing Tobacco in (called here Tobacco Houses) begin to be more plenty than in the Parts of Maryland I have travelled hitherto. They are generally large, & consist of only the outside Shell; in Appearance they resemble our Barns. The Business of Farming is carried on by Negroes, who have an Overseer appointed them; his Business is to see that they do the Work which he directs to be done. These Overseers are a cruel Set of Fellows, who either have very little Humanity in their Composition, or know not how to exercise it, for slight Faults they frequently punish the Negroes with the greatest Severity. There are sometimes several hundred Negroes belonging to one Man, who is as absolute as the grand Turk. It is astonishing that Men who feel the Value and Importance of Liberty as much as the Inhabitants of the southern States do that of their own, should keep such Numbers of the human Species in a State of so absolute Vassalage. Every Argument which can be urged in Favor of our own Liberties will certainly operate with equal Force in Favor of that of the Negroes: nor can we with any Propriety contend for the one while we withhold the other.

In Consequence of the Continental Soldiers being inoculated, the Small Pox has spread through a great Part of Maryland; it is in every House in Upper Marlborough, except one, if I am not misinformed. The Inhabitants appear to be as little acquainted with it, & as much afraid of it, as those of the New England States. Lodged at a Tavern in Upper Marlborough, kept by Mrs. Gibson.[31] C'est ne pas grand Chose [*sic*].

[May] 21st. The Post Master being at his Country Seat at the Woodyard, I visited him there, & was received and treated with the greatest Politeness & Hospitality.[32] This Seat is really elegant, & the Gardens &c vastly neat: an agreeable Air of Grandeur runs through the whole. Mr. West has here a Manufactory of Linen both flaxen & hempen, Cottons, & Woolens; a small Brewery, Distillery, &c. Among his Machines for manufacturing is one for spinning Cotton in which one Wheel turns 22 Spindles & as many Threads are spun at once. Lodged at Mr. West's.

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[31] Advertisements of sales to be held at Mrs. Gibson's appear in the *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), for September 15, 1774, p. 3, and August 10, 1775, p. 2.

[32] Stephen West who died in 1790. His marriage was noticed in the *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), March 8, 1753, p. 3, and an obituary appears in the *Maryland Journal* (Baltimore), January 5, 1790, p. 2. The estate, Woodyard, was built ca. 1692 as the home of Henry Darnall. John Ross Key of Washington, D. C., painted a view of the house a few years before it was destroyed by fire. Pictures of the painting are reproduced in Hester D. Richardson, *Side-Lights on Maryland History with Sketches of Early Maryland Families* (Baltimore, 1913), II, 75, and *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine,* XLIX (October, 1916), 255.

[May] 22d. Left the Woodyard & went to Alexanderia the first Town, upon my Road, in Virginia: it is situated upon the Bank of Patomack, a very large River which divides Maryland & Virginia, & is navigable for large Vessels above 200 Miles. At Alexandria it is 1¾ Miles wide: large Vessels can go as high as George Town about 10 Miles above Alexandria. The Wind was so high that my Horse could not be brought across the River before Evening.[33]

II: Fredericksburgh to Wilmington, July 2-7, 1777.

July 2d. Left Fredericksburgh, after having seen the Hill upon which Genl. Washington was born: it is pleasantly situated on the north Bank of the River, a little below Fredericksburgh . . . Lodged at Dumfries, where I saw Mr. Carrol (the Priest) who kindly invited me to his House; he lives near George Town.[34]

[July] 3d. Went to Alexandria where my Companions [35] staid; I proceeded to George Town on Patowmack, a small Town in Maryland, built on a Hill. The Situation I like the best of any I have seen; it commands a fine Prospect. The Patowmack is ¾ of a Mile wide at George Town, & is navigable for a Vessel of 300 Tons Burthen. There is a very fertile Island in the River, opposite the Town.[39] Lodged at the Widow Orme's, a pretty good House.[37]

[July] 4th. Rode to Bladensburgh to Breakfast. One Bradford keeps a good House here.[38] Saw the Rev. Patrick Allison [39] who told me that my Company desired I would wait for them as they would be at Bladensburgh very soon after him. Went to see my old Schoolmate the Revd. Mr. Hunt,

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[33] Hazard was unable to visit Mount Vernon or Lord Fairfax's estate as "they both lay out of my Road." On the next day, enroute to Dumfries, Virginia, he "Rode in Company with Mr. Carrol, [The Rev. John Carroll (1735-1815), future Roman Catholic Archbishop of Baltimore] a Priest who went to Canada last Year with the Commissioners from Congress,—a polite, sensible Gentleman."

[34] The Rev. John Carroll (1735-1815), future Roman Catholic Archbishop of Baltimore.

[35] Identified only as "a Mr. Miles of South Carolina & a Mr. Appleton Junr. of Boston."

[36] Analostan or Mason's Island, now Roosevelt Island.

[37] John Orme presented a petition to keep a tavern in Georgetown in 1760 (Frederick County Judgement Records, 1758-1760, p. 546), and appears to have been in business by September of that year (*Maryland Gazette* [Annapolis], September 25, 1760, p. 3). Following Orme's death in 1772, his widow, Lucy, kept the tavern for about six years. Her last tavern license was granted in 1777 (Montgomery County Court Record, Liber A, p. 6).

[38] The "house where Henry Bradford formerly kept tavern in Bladensburgh" is advertised for sale in the *Maryland Journal* (Baltimore), March 31, 1778, p. 3. On September 14, 1779 (supplement), p. 2, notice is given that Thomas Rose from Alexandria operates the tavern kept by Bradford.

[39] (1740-1802), at the time of his death senior pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Baltimore. See *Federal Gazette* (Baltimore), August 23, 1802, and J. T. Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Philadelphia, 1881), pp. 544-547.

who lives here.[40] This is a neat pleasant Town. Forded a Creek, called Rock Creek a little on this side of George Town; & another (over which there is a Bridge) at Bladensburgh, called the North Branch; both empty into Patowmack. The Post Master at Bladensburgh is a furious Politician.[41] A Col. Ingraham [42] of the North Carolina Troops, passed, with his Men, through Bladensburgh; where it was discovered that his Name was Ingraham Johnston, that he ran away with, & married, a rich Heiress in England, for which he was tried, convicted & transported; that he was sold to a Mr. Berry [43] of Bladensburgh, who employed him as a School Master; that when he had compleated the Education of Mr. Berry's Children, Mr. B. proposed to sell him for the Remainder of his Time; that for Fear of this he ran away, taking one of his Master's Horses with him; that he returned the Horse, & 10 Guineas for his Time; & went to North Carolina, where he married again (his first Wife being dead) supported a good Character, gained a great Reputation & the Friendship of the People, & was appointed to the Command of a Regiment. Upon this Discovery some of his Officers refused to serve under him, but I understand it is left to Congress to determine whether he shall continue in Office or not.

I am credibly informed that a Col. Bunkham [44] of the North Carolina Troops was very drunk here, & was seen in the same Condition afterwards on the Road. I am also told that he was so drunk at Grant's at Baltimore, as to fall over the Bannisters in going down Stairs at Night & that he is so unwell in Consequence of it as to be unable to proceed to Camp.

Passed Snowdens Iron Works & lodged at one Jones' about a Mile on this Side of them.[45] He keeps a bad House.

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[40] James Hunt (1731-1793), who headed a "flourishing classical school in Maryland," was a member of the class of 1759 of the College of New Jersey (Princeton); John Maclean, *History of the College of New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1877), I, 202. He was senior pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Bladensburgh for many years; *Maryland Journal* (Baltimore), June 25, 1793, p. 2.

[41] Not further identified.

[42] James Ingram or Ingraham was a member of the North Carolina provincial congress which met in November 1776. He was appointed a lieutenant colonel of the Eighth North Carolina Regiment on November 28, 1776, and served until his resignation on July 8, 1777. *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh N. C., 1886-1890), X, 914, 915, 946; Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register of the Officers of the Continental Army During the War of the Revolution* (Washington, 1914), p. 313; and John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Writings of Washington,* (Washington, 1931-1944), IX, 81, 359. No reference to the incident has been found in the printed *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Washington, 1904-1937) for the years 1777 and 1778 or in Edmund C. Burnett (ed.), *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (Washington, 1921-1936), for the same years.

[43] Not further identified.

[44] Probably Col. Edward Buncombe of the Fifth North Carolina Regiment; *Colonial Records of North Carolina, op. cit.*, X, 206, 516-517, 520.

[45] Possibly the tavern kept by Thomas Rose in 1783 (*Maryland Journal* [Baltimore], May 6, 1783, p. 3), and subsequently owned by John Snowden, (*Maryland Journal* [Baltimore], October 17, 1783, p. 1).

Snowden's Ironworks appears in Colles, *op. cit.*, Plate 64, but Jones' tavern does not.

[July] 5th. Set out early for Baltimore. Called at the House of a Mr. Thomas Dorsey [46] (which is pleasantly situated) to request a Draught of Milk & Water; this Gentleman politely insisted upon our breakfasting with him; & both he & his Lady entertained us with great Hospitality. They live very genteelly. Dined at Baltimore, where we lodged. Col. Bunkham dined with us; he appears to be very feeble in Consequence of his Fall; it is surprising that he was not killed by it, for he fell at least 30 Feet perpendicularly. Sammy & Ebenr. Finley are at Baltimore, the latter as a Lieut. of Artillery, & commands the Fort; the former as a Surgeon in the Hospital.[47] Met with Mr. Luther Martin, an old Acquaintance at College.[48] The Road from George Town, through Bladensburgh, to Baltimore is bad; being in many Parts very hilly & in others sandy, & the Sand is deep.

The Day has been excessively hot.

July 6th. Left Baltimore & rode to Rodger's at Susquehannah lower Ferry where we lodged.[49] This House, and Stephenson's on the East Side of the River are in my opinion the two best Houses (public) between Phila. & Edenton. We have had cloudy Weather & a great *Appearance* of Rain all Day, but no Rain; the Air has been very cool, which made the Travelling very pleasant. Was informed at Harford Town that the Enemy had got back to Staten Island, & that we are in Possession of Amboy.

[July] 7th. Clear Weather. The People of Charlestown, I am told, are so much offended at the Post Office having been removed to Susquehannah Ferry, that they have stopped up a Road which led thither (without going through Chas. Town) directly from North East. When we came to the Road & saw the Pains they have taken to stop it, by felling Trees across it, we determined not to go to Charles Town, but take the North East Road at all Events. We met with more Trouble than we expected, being very frequently obliged to ride through the Bushes, & some swampy Places, but

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[46] Undoubtedly Col. Thomas Dorsey (d. 1790) of Elkridge. J. D. Warfield, *The Founders of Anne Arundel and Howard Counties, Maryland* (Baltimore, 1905), pp. 342-344; Harry Wright Newman, *Anne Arundel Gentry* (Baltimore, 1933), pp. 112, 118-119; and Maxwell J. Dorsey, Jean Muir Dorsey, and Nannie Ball Nimmo, *The Dorsey Family* (1947), pp. 39, 157, 238, 244.

[47] Possibly Samuel Finley (1752-1829), nephew of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Finley (of West Nottingham Academy and the College of New Jersey), who served with distinction in the Virginia cavalry and rose to the rank of major; *Appleton's Encyclopedia of American Biography*, II, 461.

The relationship of Ebenezer Finley (d. 1822?) to either Samuel above is not certain but must have been close. His military record is found in the *Archives of Maryland*, XVIII, 365, 477, 573, 579. Probably he is the Ebenezer Finley living in Baltimore when the 1796 *Directory* (p. 26) and later Directories were compiled; whose wife's death is recorded in the *Federal Gazette* (Baltimore), March 28, 1809, p. 3; and whose obituary was published in the Baltimore *American*, September 17, 1822, p. 2.

[48] (Ca. 1748-1826). Martin was graduated from the College of New Jersey (Princeton) in 1766. He served as Attorney General of Maryland, a member of the Continental Congress, a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, and as defense attorney for Samuel Chase in 1805 and for Aaron Burr in 1807.

[49] Rodger's tavern was located on the *west* side of the Susquehannah River from 1774 to about 1780; Paullin, *op. cit.*, 16-19.

got safe through at last. I think there must be near 100 Trees across the Road; some of them are very large. Breakfasted at Bird's or Byrn's, at North East, 7 Miles from the Head of Elk; a good house.[50]

III: York to Alexandria, November 5-11, 1777.

Novr. 5th. Cloudy & showery. Set out for Baltimore: crossed the Codorus by a Bridge, 5 Miles from York. The Country is mountainous, poor, & but thinly settled; the Road solitary & tedious. Lodged at Kaign's; the People civil, but keep a bad House.[51] The Line between Pennsa. & Maryland runs by Wiley's.[52]

[November] 6th. Country & Road as yesterday. Crossed the Falls of Gunpowder at Rodger's Mill. Was kindly entertained & politely treated by Mrs. Rodgers with whom I dined.[53] Rained hard last Night & some of this Morning but cleared up towards Noon. Had no Company on the Road from York to Baltimore. Lodged at Grant's.

[November] 7th. Got to Annapolis. Road very bad.

[November] 8th. At Annapolis. The stucco Work in the State House is very elegant: the Assembly is now sitting. They have voted 2000 additional Troops, and given Leave to bring in a Bill for seizing the Proprietary Estate, & another for seizing all Debts due to British Merchts. to be applied to the Indemnification of such Persons as have suffered by the British Fleet & Army. I understand Samuel Chase Esqr.[54] & some other Gentlemen won 900 Dollars last night at Billards.

Several new Compaines are forming for making Salt.

I was charged 2/6 for once Shaving.

[November] 9th. Rained much last Night. Rode to the Woodyard & lodged with Stephen West Esqr.

[November] 10th. Went to Bladensburgh where I was detained all the Afternoon by the Rain. Lodged at Bradford's; bad Attendance; the Master of the House has been from home a Week attending Horse Races.

[November] 11th. So intense was the Cold last Night that the Ground froze excessively hard & the Rivulets are covered with Ice. The Air is remarkably keen this morning. Rode to Alexandria. . . .

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[50] Bird's tavern appears in Colles, *op. cit.*, Plate 55.

[51] Probably Kean's Tavern, advertised for sale in the *Maryland Journal* (Baltimore), March 17, 1778, p. 4, and several subsequent issues.

[52] Not further identified.

[53] Could this be Mrs. John Rodgers, wife of Col. John Rodgers who, with a partner, owned "a sawmill, mill-dam and mill-race, and built a grist-mill," ca. 1776-1777; Paullin, *op. cit.*, 17-18.

[54] (1741-1811), the signer of the Declaration of Independence, then a member of the Continental Congress from Maryland and subsequently an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The American Mind. By HENRY STEELE COMMAGER. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1950. 476 pp. $5.

The history of ideas in America has come to command more and more attention in recent years. Mr. Commager's book, whose sub-title reads "An Interpretation of American Thought and Character Since the 1880's," is explicitly devoted to this ineffable but quite powerful dimension of American history. With marked courage, the author attempts to subdue the intellectual course of this nation for the past seventy years, and follows that course in its greatest width. His essays range over the nation's philosophy, religion, literature, and the separate social sciences (economics, political theory, law, sociology). There is even a slight diversion to architecture as the most important "social" art.

In addition to summary chapters characterizing the "Nineteenth-Century American" and the "Twentieth-Century American" there are chapters devoted to outstanding developments in the major fields of knowledge and sizeable chapters on the individual thinkers who formed "The Mind" of this period. Mr. Commager puts forward ambitious intellectual biographies of thinkers like John Fiske, spokesman for evolutionary philosophy; William James, advocate of pragmatism; Lester Ward, formulator of the new "science" of sociology; Thorstein Veblen, promoter of "Institutional" economics; Pound and Holmes, the "Masters of the New Jurisprudence"; and the historians who have most significantly interpreted American history in the first half of our century—Turner, Parrington, and Beard.

The mere recital of the extensive scope of this book should suffice to indicate several relevant points about its effectiveness and worth. Only a many-faceted genius at creative interpretation could do justice to the diverse fields of knowledge considered here; and only a person trained in handling philosophic ideas could make valuable judgments about the many original minds appraised.

Mr. Commager, although considerably more knowledgeable than is the average American historian, does not convince this reader that he has made the materials of this complex study altogether his own. One persistently feels, perhaps because of the too frequent presence of commonplace views both about "the times" and the individual thinkers discussed, that the primary scholarship of others has been borrowed by the author with less than the customary return. Chiefly, one must grant that Mr. Commager has re-written his borrowings into more facile prose than monograph studies ordinarily offer; but very few fresh insights are pro-

vided for the serious student of the history of ideas in America. Nevertheless many readers who do not care to struggle with more authentic and philosophic accounts of these interesting seventy years in the formation of the modern American mind will find considerable enlightenment in Mr. Commager's valorous essays.

Adrienne Koch.

New York University.

Seat of Empire. The Political Role of Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg. By Carl Bridenbaugh. Williamsburg: Colonial Willamsburg, 1950. x, 85 pp. $1.75.

This book is about the aristocratic families that ruled Eighteenth Century Virginia. The author is much impressed by a social class capable of producing leaders of such worth and integrity as those who led the resistance to Britain. In explanation he portrays the training in management of affairs and men which they acquired in supervising plantations—actually small communities. He outlines their duties as vestrymen, justices of the peace, and members of the House of Burgesses—offices which were the prerogative of their station. These gentlemen thought that politics was their proper vocation. They had aristocratic pride and were accustomed to rule.

The Revolution in Virginia, according to Mr. Bridenbaugh, was the outcome of a political situation. Determined to rule their own colony, the planters opposed Britain. In this cause they were united; differences existed, but as to means, not ends. Internal conflicts brought about a shift of political power in Virginia, but only from one planter group to another. The spread of tobacco culture to the Piedmont after 1750 created a new aristocracy which was denied an effective part in government by a Tidewater oligarchy headed by the Robinson and Randolph families. Sensing their opportunity, the new Piedmont planters embraced the resistance to Britain with ardor and succeeded in capturing leadership of the movement and with it the leadership of the colony. Combining with discontented Tidewater families, notably the Lees, they broke the sway of the Robinson-Randolph alliance. Before long, however, political differences were composed and Virginia entered the Revolution under united planter leadership.

This short and easily-read volume is the first of a series of popular histories of Eighteenth Century Virginia to be published by Colonial Williamsburg. Its author is an eminent social historian who writes with grace and insight. The book, however, might give an incomplete impression to a reader who is not familiar with other works on the subject. Virginia's single importance in the Revolutionary movement, for example, was hardly as great as the author implies. A more serious fault is the lack of reference to economic factors, about which much has been written elsewhere. The author does not describe the fierce competition of planters to increase their lands. Nothing is said of Virginia's exclusion from the opportunities for land speculation in the western territory, nor does the book mention

the planters' growing and almost hopeless indebtedness to British merchants. Some of these were no doubt considerable factors in the Revolutionary movement. Moreover, though one can agree that class or sectional conflicts were not important in colonial Virginia, they nevertheless existed and were to emerge more clearly during the Revolution. By ignoring such topics, the author paints a scene somewhat more idyllic than the one which probably existed.

These criticisms, however, must be set against the wisdom and familiarity with which the author touches the things he does write about. Everyone will enjoy this book and learn something from it. Those who have an antiquarian interest will be pleased to have an informed account written in a spirit of reverence for the Old Dominion.

E. James Ferguson.

University of Maryland.

The Confederate States of America, 1861-65. By E. Merton Coulter. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1950. xiv, 644 pp. $7.

The Confederate States of America is volume seven of *A History of The South.* It is not a military history. The story of the campaigns and battles is limited to a single chapter. While the war is constantly recognized as all-engrossing for the people of the South, military problems in the usual and somewhat narrow sense were but part of the struggle for existence. In this struggle other factors were easily discernible, *i. e.*: industrial weakness, crumbling transportation, shrinking supplies, soaring prices, growing hunger, and gnawing heartache. In the preface the author warns the reader of his intention to present the whole picture of the South in which the war must necessarily be relegated "to its proper relative position."

Not least among forces demanding immediate attention, if they were to be controlled at all by the infant Confederacy, were the emotional responses suggested by the phrase states' rights. States' rights so tenderly nourished by Calhoun and brought to bloom in the Charleston convention of December, 1860, attained during the next year a noxious growth scarcely less dangerous to Davis and the Confederacy than to Lincoln and the United States. Witness the formation of West Virginia, aborning as the Confederate government moved to Richmond and the narrow and obstructionist activity of Vice-President Stephens and Governor Brown of Georgia.

Professor Coulter evidently believes the author owes the reader his considered judgment as well as his best care in presenting facts. On page 83 the author declares: "Morale was the most potent weapon the South had . . . they lost this weapon, and, therefore the war." Later (page 566) he sums up into "one fact" the forces leading to the defeat of the South: "The people did not will hard enough and long enough to win." Fortunately, a full page later, he added "And it must also be remembered that it was the Federal armies, aided by these forces, which actually destroyed the Confederacy." When one recalls that the South with a white

population of five and a half million lost perhaps 250,000 soldiers in death and that the United States boasting a population of 140,000,000 during the 1940s lost scarcely more than 260,000 men in death, one wonders could flesh and blood have willed more or more devotedly supported morale than those who fought outnumbered, hungry, ragged, and almost without arms or those who waited at home, if indeed home survived.

A few minor mistakes may be found such as the inclusion on page 570 of the Barbara Frietchie dwelling in a list of *antebellum* houses currently to be seen. In the index Mrs. Rose O'Neal Greenhow is reported on two pages instead of four.

In the estimation of this reviewer Professor Coulter has in great measure accomplished his expressed purpose to paint a picture of the whole South. He has made a wide study of sources and has presented his material in a temperate spirit manifestly guided by the determination to show the good and the bad. Nowhere is there special pleading. It is splendid history and should help any who read the better to know and evaluate this period.

THEODORE M. WHITFIELD.

Western Maryland College.

John Wesley Jarvis, American Painter, 1780-1840. By HAROLD E. DICKSON. New York: New York Historical Society, 1949. xx, 476 pp. $10.

This carefully documented and detailed life of the artist, John Wesley Jarvis, is a fine piece of work from several points of view. One notes the lack most frequently felt in books on "early American" painters for with few exceptions these artists, although not illiterate, appear so from the scarcity of letters or diaries—material of prime necessity for biographical study. Without the last limitation, no fault of the author's, little can be said except in praise. As usual the personality of the gregarious Jarvis follows William Dunlap's version and some few others in similar vein but never as good; from these and a few letters Jarvis emerges as much a man as could be summoned up when but little is left of his own words.

Economic, intellectual and social cycles are ably used for background material and the flavor and appearances of the varied communities in which he worked, from Boston to New Orleans and over the mountains into the new states, agreeably presented and integrated with the outlined life. Numerous names and anecdotes of Jarvis' fellow painters are woven into the tale and the sources cited (many of them local memoirs and transient periodicals) suggest lines which other biographers of artists might find well worth investigating.

In Chapter XXIII—"Jarvis the Painter: Analysis"—the opening paragraph succinctly defines the scope of the work; those following present

the author's feeling, which really echo the opinion of the artist's friend and contemporary Neal, who wrote that Jarvis was "remarkable for the strong individuality of his favorite heads—bold natural composition, manner and attitude."

Mr. Dixon's closing paragraph is succinct and temperate: "There are no masterpieces of art among the panels and canvases painted by Jarvis, but many of them he made forceful documents, painted images of his American contemporaries as effective as many a marble one of a Roman citizen. And he thus becomes a figure of consequence in the long tradition of American realistic portraiture."

The chronology and bibliography are models of form and the illustrations are excellent. If criticism could be made by this very thorough job, one would only be able to suggest that the material might be a bit over-expanded; although the style is most pleasant, a somewhat briefer presentation might have achieved the same end.

ANNA WELLS RUTLEDGE.

Yale University.

Confederate Leaders in the New South. By WILLIAM B. HESSELTINE. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1950. xi, 147 pp. $2.50.

Professor Hesseltine has attempted to discover what happened to the leaders of the Confederacy after Appomattox. Too often, as he has pointed out, hundreds of biographies have been written about the Southern leaders but with a few exceptions, all ended abruptly with the close of the war. For this reason, he has studied the post-war careers of 585 of the top-ranking military and civil leaders in an effort to trace their influence on the New South.

The Confederate leaders were not, as Northern propagandists have charged, completely in accord with the purpose of the Confederacy and the conduct of the war. This conflict of ideas did not end with Appomattox. During the Reconstruction period, Southern leaders were divided into two groups. The one followed the lead of General Robert E. Lee in striving to build a New South, while the other adhered to the ideas of Jefferson Davis who attempted to hold to the values and traditions of the Old South. Although a compromise between the two ideas had to be worked out, nevertheless this conflict of ideas has continued in Southern thought until the present time.

Professor Hesseltine has explored the activities of three of the most important groups of Confederate leaders in great detail. These were the ministers, the educators, and the new industrialists. Other groups are also considered, but he does not give them major emphasis. He regards the first named groups as an illustration of the problem of adjustment which was faced by the South by relating the activities of these leaders to the conflict of ideas.

This small volume, one in the series of the Walter Lynwood Fleming

Lectures in Southern History, is an informal study of the later activities of the Confederate leaders and possesses few of the earmarks of a scholarly publication. A more comprehensive treatment of the subject would have involved endless research and would have produced a tome many times larger than this volume. Hesseltine's book, however, has no index which reduces its value to the serious student. None of the Maryland leaders are mentioned although it would not have been too difficult to trace the later career of Gen. I. Ridgeway Trimble, for instance. Nevertheless, his treatment of the Election of 1877 as a "compromise" is unique. Above all, this volume should stimulate further research and publication of better biographies of these hitherto neglected leaders.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

Appeal to Arms. By WILLARD M. WALLACE. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951. viii, 274 pp. $4.50.

The author of this work is both a trained historian and a veteran of World War II. In *Appeal To Arms* he has admirably blended the knowledge and insight of his professional training and his military experience. The result is a military history of the American Revolution which is at once interesting to read and generally sound in its historical interpretations and conclusions.

The literary style is good, easy, and even gossipy at times. A generous and judicious use of apt and highly descriptive diction lends to the volume a certain charm and spice without distracting the reader's attention unduly from the basic theme. Technical military terminology has been kept to a minimum. There are no footnotes but those who require documentation and evidence of wide research will find both in notes which, by chapters, have been carefully collected on pages immediately following the end of the text. There is also an adequate index. The maps which are appropriately distributed throughout the volume will also be greatly appreciated by the reader.

While much has been omitted and much that is included is not new the most serious violence to proportion, or "balance," is done by limiting the story of the war in the south to only 71 of the 274 pages of the text. Two of these 71 pages are all that are required for the peace negotiations and settlements which brought the war to its official conclusion! If, however, the reader should be inclined to feel that the book seems to end rather abruptly let him remember that so, too, did the war itself.

Competent critics in the field of historical writing can hardly be expected to consider this work a monument to great scholarship. Moreover, the ablest students of military science may discover many shortcomings in its pages. Be this as it may, *Appeal To Arms* should have great "popular" appeal and be highly prized by the less technically minded general reading public as an account of the Revolutionary War which places great em-

phasis upon the "human element" in the war; carries a great deal of valuable information; is delightfully refreshing and well worth the reading.

EDWARD M. COLEMAN.

Morgan State College.

Side Wheel Steamers of the Chesapeake Bay: 1880-1947. Rev. Ed. By JOHN A. HAIN. Glen Burnie: Glendale Press [1951]. $3.

This little book (now available in a revised and more complete edition) is welcome as the first attempt to produce an illustrated list of some of the three or four hundred steamboats which have plied the Chesapeake from 1813 until the present day. While it covers only side wheel steamers and only a portion of them, it does cover those which are most interesting in the memories of those who have survived the steamboat era. It forms a desirable supplement to the incomplete histories in John H. K. Shannahan's *Steamboat'n Days* and Fred. Erving Dayton's *Steamboat Days.* Dayton completely ignores the lines which were eventually merged into the Baltimore, Chesapeake and Atlantic R. R. and the Maryland, Delaware & Virginia R. R. These two lines, which were under the same management, operated the largest fleet of steamboats on the Bay. Until the appearance of a complete history of the Chesapeake steamboats, every steamboat fan should have a copy of this book. Every steamer mentioned is illustrated, and many of the pictures are very rare.

W. C. STEUART.

Western Gateway to the National Capital (Rockville, Maryland). By NOMA THOMPSON. Washington, D. C.: Stewart Printing Co., 1949. 122 pp. 9 illus. $2.50.

The compiler's chief purpose in writing this book was to prepare a reference tool covering the history of Rockville, county seat of Montgomery County, Maryland, from its beginnings in the eighteenth century to 1939. The book is chock-full of names of residents and dates of their participation in local activities. It lays special emphasis on brief outlines of town and county offices, and of religious, political, social, commercial, and fraternal organizations. Within this limited sphere the compiler has assembled a wealth of material.

The lack of many specific citations may limit the usefulness of the book. The few "select references," for example, contain such general entries as "newpapers, Washington, Maryland, 1775-1939." But perhaps of greater usefulness would have been either a general index, instead of the present alphabetized listing of chapter headings, or a full name index. The former would have given the reader a key to such materials as data on the Worthington family, now indexed under "Appendix." The latter would have given the reader a key to names on such lists as the list of 49

persons who formed a committee in 1876 to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the founding of the community. Such materials about individuals may or may not be of value to the reader but if they are worth including they are worth indexing.

Ever since Donald Parker and Bertha Josephson wrote *Local History, How to Gather it, Write it, and Publish it,* the student has had an invaluable guidepost in preparing a local history. A book or article on local history may develop an interest among members of a community in the story of its past, it may give the professional historian background data, or it may encourage other local researchers to write in detail about some aspect of community life. If it succeeds in any one of these points, it has filled a worthwhile need. It is hoped that Miss Thompson's book not only fulfills her objective of aiding others in research work on Rockville, but that it stimulates others to undertake such work.

MEREDITH B. COLKET, JR.

The National Archives.

A Rhode Island Chaplain in the Revolution: Letters of Ebenezer David To Nicholas Brown, 1775-1778. Edited by JEANNETTE D. BLACK and WILLIAM GREENE ROELKER. xxxi, 82 pp. Providence: The Rhode Island Society of Cincinnati, 1949. $5.

To the historian of the American Revolutionary era every new publication of source material is worthy of attention; and to the historian whose interest is even more localized these twenty, hitherto unpublished, letters of a Revolutionary chaplain to a Rhode Island merchant certainly merit reading. The letters themselves, owing to the meticulous transcription with which the editors have precisely preserved the eighteenth century spelling and punctuation, may prove less enjoyable. But the introductory settings which precede each group of letters, and the explanatory notes which follow the individual letters, make it possible for even the uninitiated to catch something of the flavor of the period and comprehend the cryptic style of the writer, Ebenezer David.

Ebenezer David was a Seventh-Day Baptist minister who served with the 1st Rhode Island Regiment and the 25th Continental Regiment from Massachusetts. In that capacity he saw something of the action around Boston, New York City, and Ticonderoga in 1776. The following year he was attached to the 2nd Rhode Island Regiment and eventually reached Valley Forge. On March 19, 1778, David died in the hospital at Lancaster Pennsylvania, another victim of that harrowing winter of 1777-1778, which has now become so famous in history.

David's twenty letters to his merchant friend, Nicholas Brown, were written over a period of months beginning in June, 1775, and ending on February 3, 1778, when the last one was penned at Valley Forge. The names of the great and near-great wander in and out of the narrative, and

the reader catches tantalizing allusions to Washington, Charles Lee, Israel Putnam, and many others.

In a certain sense these letters are very disappointing. Coming as they do from some of the most spectacular fields of combat, the historian scans the terse comments for some new and breath-taking revelations that could lead to revisions of points of view now traditionally held. The letters add very little to the now enormous sum of knowledge available to the reading public. The real value of the letters lies in their tendency to re-emphasize the common denominators of wars, in whatever era they are fought. The typical army chaplain, he reported on the run-of-the-mill interests of army life. He noticed that the depreciation of the currency was as much felt and dreaded by the soldiers as by the civilian. Officers families, he found, suffered as desperately as the others. He deplored the quarrels among the officers in command at Fort Mifflin. He saw the trial of spies, and the reprieve of men who resisted their officers. He was keenly aware of the harsh criticisms of Washington's leadership and said sardonically, "You know most [men] are too fond of taking upon themselves Genneralship."

The format of this small group of letters is excellent and every effort has been made to set off the letters like jewels in precious metals. The editorial work is of fine scholarship and almost exceeds the letters in value. Certainly anyone who has an interest in the military aspects of the American Revolution will find his time well-spent in looking over this fine little volume.

ANNABELLE M. MELVILLE.

St. Joseph's College,
Emmittsburg, Maryland.

Brandywine Springs. The Rise and Fall of a Delaware Resort. By C. A. WESLAGER. Wilmington: Hambleton Company, Inc. xiii, 124 pp., 21 ill. $2.50.

When they were first noticed by a Delawarian in the early 1800's the springs to which the title of this book refers were foul-looking pools of yellow water oozing in an unkempt New Castle County meadow. When they were last noticed by a Delawarian—if that was not Mr. Weslager then it certainly was one of his Delaware readers—the springs were once again foul-looking and yellow and oozing, and the meadow was just as unkempt.

What happened to these springs in the 100 or so intervening years is the subject and substance of this study. Mr. Weslager, writing with the ease, the color and the dramatic sense one associates with the better historical novelists, tells how in the 1820's a vast hotel was erected near the chalybeate (iron-impregnated) springs by a group of Wilmington worthies jealous of the Virginia watering-places; how the *haut monde* of Wilmington, Philadelphia and Baltimore, drawn by or because of the "magic"

waters, made the place one of America's most fashionable, most comfortable and most exciting spas; how the hotel faltered and declined until, its curative waters all but forgotten, it became a boy's school and a boarding house; how, after most of the hotel burned, the spa later became a picnic grove and a rather raffish amunsement park and how, thirty years ago, that was abandoned.

This book does more than carefully, lovingly and dramatically chart the wistful saga of a particular spa. For its story is the story of America's health springs—and that story is a little explored and important chapter in the history of American medicine, recreation and manners.

WILLIAM STUMP.

Twenty-seventh Report. Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland. Baltimore: 1950. 80 pp.

The *Twenty-seventh Report*, in a series now issued occasionally rather than annually, presents a significant contribution to the history and bibliography of printing in Maryland. Dr. Felix Reichmann, Assistant Director of the Cornell University Library, is author and compiler of the chief article entitled "German Printing in Maryland: A Check List, 1768-1950." Written as a bibliographical appendix to Dieter Cunz: *The Maryland Germans* (Princeton University Press, 1948) which was reviewed by Ralph Charles Wood in *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XLIV (March 1949), 58-60, the check list includes a succinctly written account of some of the problems printers and booksellers faced—importation of books directly from Germany and publication by subscription, for instance; the types of books published; the flourishing decades in the latter half of the 19th century and the subsequent decline. The 812 entries in the bibliography are concise. The first records the issuance of a broadside of 1768 in German and English petitioning the removal of the jail and courthouse from Joppa to Baltimore; the last, a book of themes, forms and ideas in German literature published by the Johns Hopkins University Press in 1950. Several tables showing subject analysis, chronology of publications, German almanacs, etc., and a useful section on newspapers and magazines are included.

The remainder of the *Twenty-seventh Report*, which is dedicated to the late Albert B. Faust, is devoted to an account of Goethe celebrations in Maryland in 1949 and to routine business of the Society.

F. S.

Seigniory in Early Maryland. By HARRY WRIGHT NEWMAN. Baltimore: King Brothers, 1949. 69 pp. $1.50.

This brochure was published by The Descendants of Lords of the Maryland Manors and is limited to one thousand copies.

Historians have treated the "Lord of the Manor" phase of Maryland's

existence with scant notice. In Mr. Newman's brochure, we are given an unusually entertaining and edifying account of the early Maryland manors and their Lords. There is a romantic atmosphere about this segment of life in the Province, but it had a substantial foundation in Maryland's Charter where it appears as one of the plans of the first Lord Baltimore. In the granting of Maryland's Charter, King Charles proved himself a canny personage by inserting in the document a proviso that the "Lords of the Manor" in that Province (who were of the "Gentry class") should not emulate the status of those Lords in England (who, by birthright, belonged to the Nobility). Mr. Newman, evidently, has devoted a great amount of research work to the study of the subject, and this monograph is the result.

The book contains an alphabetically arranged list of manors, with the names of the original grantees; this is succeeded by a cross index of original manor lords, followed by the names of their respective manors. The book contains a few illustrations which are very well executed.

FRANCIS BARNUM CULVER.

Bulwark of Liberty, Early Years at Dickinson. (The Boyd Lee Spahr Lectures in Americana, Vol. One, 1947-1950.) Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1950. $3.50.

This small volume of essays on the early history of Dickinson College was prepared as a part of the college's tribute to its eminent alumnus Boyd Lee Spahr on the fiftieth anniversary of his graduation from Dickinson. Prominent among Mr. Spahr's many contributions to Dickinson has been his work in collecting materials relating to the college's history and his efforts in behalf of its library. Along with these interests has gone a lifelong enthusiasm for the study of American history.

In 1947 the college instituted the Boyd Lee Spahr Lectures in Americana. The first series of these lectures, three of which have already appeared in print, are now published in *Bulwark of Liberty*. L. H. Butterfield, who delivered the initial Boyd Lee Spahr Lecture in 1947, tells the story of Benjamin Rush's role in the founding of the college at Carlisle. Rush, a staunch advocate of higher education, led a group of Pennsylvania conservatives who disapproved the new administration of the University of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia. Charles Nisbet, the first college president, who with Rush and John Dickinson laid the foundations of the frontier institution, is the subject of a biographical essay by Mr. Spahr. Other officials of the college contribute essays recalling interesting phases of early Dickinsonia. Two famous sons of Dickinson, Roger B. Taney and James Buchanan, are briefly treated by Carl B. Swisher and Roy F. Nichols. Their essays, however, add little to what they have already published elsewhere on their subjects.

Primarily addresses about Dickinson delivered before college audiences, the lectures in *Bulwark of Liberty* also should prove of interest to students

of local and early American history. Though somewhat repetitive in narrating the same anecdotes of the birth of the college, the essays or lectures are all eminently readable and interesting.

ARTHUR A. EKIRCH, JR.

The American University.

Colonial Williamsburg: Its Buildings and Gardens. By A. LAWRENCE KOCHER and HOWARD DEARSTYNE. Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., 1949. vii, 104 pp. $2.75.

This volume is an account of the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg. In addition to the description of Virginia's colonial capital, the authors have also included excellent sketches of the buildings and builders of Williamsburg, the gardens, and the furnishings of the buildings. There are also many well-chosen and interesting photographs and architectural drawings which add greatly to recapturing the flavor of the times.

The purpose of the authors in compiling this book has been that of retelling the history of 18th century Williamsburg and its society. With this in mind, they have included excellent background material which portrays all phases of colonial life. Such topics, for instance, as interior decorations, paints and the uses of color, and the examples of garden layouts, are described in intimate detail and greatly enhance the value of the book.

Colonial Williamsburg is to be congratulated for the publication of such a handsome volume. It is an excellent example of good printing. It is attractively bound and its end-pages immediately arouse interest in the volume. Its photographs are all in good taste. It possesses an excellent bibliography and an index which is well done. It is to be regretted that no comparable volume exists for Maryland's colonial capital at St. Mary's City.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

Official Document Book. New York State Freedom Train. Distributed by the New York State Library. Albany: 1950. 72 pp.

The newcomer to Maryland is struck by the riches of the Free State heritage and the modesty with which Marylanders proclaim their history. One can think in a moment of half a dozen states with a fraction of Maryland's past which by blatancy and persistence have fixed their lesser claims in the mind of the general public. Our neighboring State, New York, has shown us a way to advertize state history dramatically but without crassness. With the well known national Freedom Train as a model, a state freedom train commission was directed by the state legislature in 1948 " to provide for the exhibition throughout the state of original documents, manuscripts and other historical materials . . . reflecting the traditions of liberty and freedom and the historical heritage of the people of the state." The New York Central and Pennsylvania railroads provided six railway cars which

were specially fitted to safeguard valuable records. The Commission selected representative documents from 1641 to 1948 for display. The train toured the state during most of 1949 and part of 1950.

A permanent memorial of the tour, the *Official Document Book* presents the New York story under such headings as " Government by the People," " Freedom of Religion," " Freedom of Speech and Press," and " Freedom of Person." Many of the documents such as the Charter of Liberties and Privileges issued by the Duke of York in 1683, the Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery of 1799, and an act of 1948 relating to education are illustrated. A brief history of the train and a descriptive List of Exhibits complete the volume.

Maryland might well consider such an effective means of showing in documents its great history to its own people and perhaps to the citizens of other states. No task to be saddled either on the Hall of Records or the Maryland Historical Society (unless their present budgets be bolstered adequately), these two institutions might join leading citizens of the State in presenting the idea to the public and to the Governor and the State Assembly. Freedom and the knowledge of freedom are matters of supreme importance in 1951 as in 1776.

F. S.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

Creole Folk Tales. Stories of the Louisiana Marsh Country. By Hewitt L. Ballowe. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1948. xx, 258 pp.

Indians of the Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia. By C. A. Weslager. (Reprinted from *The Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia,* ed. by Charles B. Clark. New York: Lewis Hist. Publ. Co., 1950.)

The Origin of Frederick County, Maryland. A Bicentennial Address. By Edward S. Delaplaine. Washington: Judd & Detweiler, Inc., 1949. 23 pp.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Historic Sites and Buildings—The third "Institute in the Preservation and Interpretation of Historic Sites and Buildings," will be offered from June 11 through June 29. Under the direction of Donald Derby of The American University, meetings of the Institute will be held in Washington during the first two weeks of the course and in Williamsburg during the last week. Lectures and field investigations will be planned by Ronald F. Lee, Chief Historian of the National Park Service, and by Edward P. Alexander, Director of Interpretation of Colonial Williamsburg.

Genealogical Research—The "Institute of Genealogical Research," first offered in the summer of 1949, will be repeated from June 11 through June 29. The Institute will be given with the cooperation of the National Archives and Records Service and will provide lectures on sources and methods of genealogical research and laboratory work. Meredith B. Colket, Jr., of the National Archives and Records Service will be director of the Institute.

Further information concerning the above two courses may be obtained from the Office of the Director, School of Social Sciences and Public Affairs, The American University, 1901 "F" Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

Automatic Can-making Machine—We are gathering material on the first automatic can-making machine. Two men of Baltimore, Smith and Wick, appear to have used automatic can-making machinery in their plant in 1885. We would like to obtain pictorial material concerning early can making operations (Smith and Wick's, if at all possible), reproductions of the setting in which these early operations took place, photographs of the men actually credited with the invention and any text describing the events.

Miss Eleanor Harvill, Editional Assistant, "Steelways"
350 Fifth Ave., New York 1, N. Y.

Forester—Information is requested in respect of (1) the parents, date and place of birth of George William Forester, Rector of Shrewsbury Church, Kent County, Md., from 1735-74; (2) the parents, date and place of birth of Elizabeth Henrietta ————————, first wife of said George W. Forester. Their daughter, Elizabeth, married William Haley in 1755.

Stanley Rich,
461 Maple Street, Winnetka, Ill.

Homewood—I am gathering material for a book on "The Architectural History of Homewood," the famous Baltimore landmark, now on the Johns Hopkins University campus. If anyone has access to articles, letters, early prints, or other material concerning the architecture, derivation, or influence of Homewood, his assistance will be greatly appreciated.

Bennard B. Perlman,
3508 Powhatan Ave., Baltimore 16.

Jacob, Hoffman, Ory, Weber, and Strasbach—Information is wanted on these German families who settled in Maryland. Samuel Gautier of Biloxi, Miss., and New Orleans, La., married Alice Cassard in New Orleans, September 20, 1880. His father, Auguste Gautier, Jr., was born in New York, N. Y., 1820, married in Louisiana, May 1, 1852, Euphermie Ory, born in Louisiana, December 3, 1819, died November 27, 1863, in Louisiana. Euphermie Ory was the daughter of Jean (John) Baptiste Ory, Jr., supposedly of Hagerstown, Md., married in 1801 Madeline Webre (Weber). She was born May 16, 1791[?].

John (Jean) Baptiste Ory, of Hagerstown, Md., married 1781 Eva Hoffman, daughter of James Hoffman. John Baptiste Ory was the son of Nicholas Ory of Hagerstown, Md., who married Anne Strasbach of Hagerstown, Md. Who was Anne Strasbach's father and mother?

To go back to Eva Hoffman, she was the daughter of James Hoffman and Sophie Jacobs. Who were the father and mother of Sophie Jacobs? I am seeking information on these lines to establish qualifications for membership in the Sons of The American Revolution, Society of Colonial Wars, and Colonial Dames of America.

Beale Howard Richardson, IV,
1041 Robert St., New Orleans, La.

Woodville—I am working on Richard Caton Woodville, Sr. (1825-55), the American *genre* painter. Many of his paintings have disappeared and cannot be traced. Any assistance in locating paintings and drawings by the artist and manuscript material about him and letters from him will be greatly appreciated.

Marvin C. Ross,
Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore 1.

CONTRIBUTORS

MR. HOUGHTON is a distinguished scholar-in-business who has won the gratitude of Marylanders by restoring St. Luke's Episcopal Church at Wye Mills and assisting other causes of historical and educational character. He is an officer of the Corning Glass Works of New York. ☆ Owner of Whitehall since 1946, MR. SCARLETT is a graduate of Princeton University, and a member of a Baltimore shipping firm. He has carried on his investigation into the origin and development of Governor Sharpe's residence over many years and into innumerable manuscript collections. ☆ DR. JOHNSON, an instructor at the University of Maine, some time ago made an extensive study of the Carroll-Maccubbin Papers at the Maryland Historical Society, in preparation for his doctoral degree granted by the State University of Iowa in 1949. ☆ MR. SHELLEY, Librarian of the Society since September, 1950, has been appointed Associate Editor of the *Magazine*.

FOR SALE BY THE SOCIETY

Maryland in World War II, Vol. I: Military, by H. R. Manakee. 1950 384 pp. cloth. (Maryland Sales Tax 6c.) $3.25

History of Queen Anne's County, by Frederick Emory. 1886-7. Reprinted 1949. *629 pages*, cloth cover. By mail, Maryland sales tax included $7.75

Portraits Painted before 1900 in the Collection of the Maryland Historical Society, by Anna Wells Rutledge. 1946. *40 pages, illustrated, paper covers* $1.00

Handlist of Miniatures in the Collections of the Maryland Historical Society, by Anna Wells Rutledge. 1945. *18 pages, illustrated, paper covers* ..... .60

Augustine Herman's Map of Virginia and Maryland, 1673. Reproduced from original in John Carter Brown Library 6.50

Warner and Hanna's Map of Baltimore, 1801, Collotype reproduction in color 5.00

Old Wye Church, Talbot Co., Md. A History of St. Luke's at Wye Mills, by Elizabeth Merritt. 1949. *42 pages, paper covers* ..... .55

Calendar of the General Otho Holland Williams Papers in the Maryland Historical Society. 1940. *454 pages, mimeographed, paper covers* .. 2.75

Chronicles of Mistress Margaret Brent, by Mary E. W. Ramey. 1915. *12 pages, illustrated, paper covers* 1.00

Descendants of Richard and Elizabeth Ewen Talbot of Poplar Knowle, West River, Anne Arundel Co., compiled by Ida Morrison Shirk. 1927. *569 pages, illustrated* 15.00

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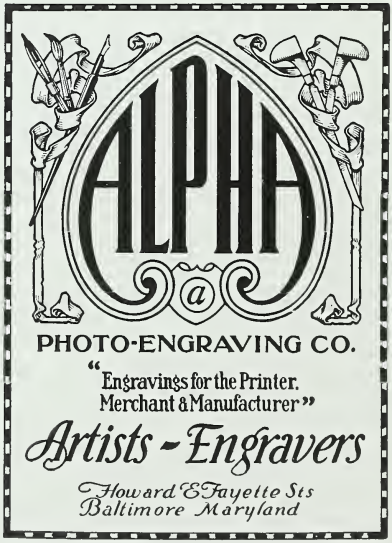

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JAMES W. FOSTER, *Editor* FRED SHELLEY, *Associate Editor*

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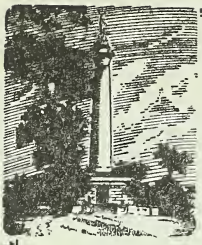

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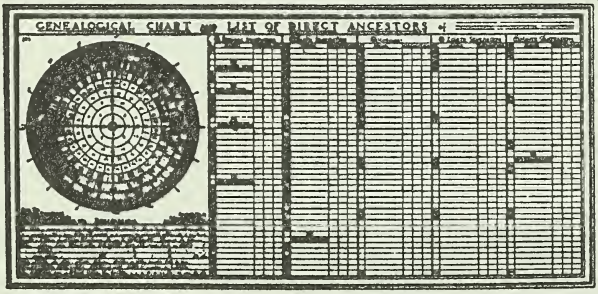

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume XLVI JUNE, 1951 Number 2

EDMUND PENDLETON ON THE VIRGINIA RESOLVES

Edited by EDMUND S. MORGAN

ONE of the most tantalizing puzzles in American history is the question of what actually happened in the Virginia House of Burgesses on May 30 and 31, 1765, when Patrick Henry introduced the famous Virginia Resolves against the Stamp Act. Historians have sought the answers to this question for a hundred and fifty years but without remarkable success. One of the first to try was William Wirt, Henry's biographer. Wirt's *Life of Patrick Henry* was published in 1818, but he had been working on it for a number of years before, and in particular he had corresponded extensively with Jefferson about the events of May, 1765. Jefferson was one of the few men living who had been present at the House of Burgesses on the crucial days, though he was only a spectator and confined to the lobby, not a member of the House.

Working mainly from Jefferson's recollections and from tradi-

tion, Wirt reconstructed the scene and gave a dramatic picture of Henry's speech with its defiant conclusion, "If this be treason, make the most of it." The episode, already a part of the Revolutionary legend, became enshrined in a thousand school-books. It was not challenged until a contemporary account of the events, written by an anonymous French traveller, who had stood in the lobby with Jefferson and others, was published in 1921 in the *American Historical Review*. The Frenchman's account showed Henry's speech to have been considerably less defiant and dramatic than Wirt had pictured it. The discrepancy inevitably called attention to the fact that our entire knowledge of the episode, apart from the newly discovered Frenchman's account, depended on hearsay, on a later statement by Henry himself, and on the recollections of Jefferson and one or two others, which were forty to fifty years old when Wirt collected them.

Jefferson in a letter to Wirt in 1814 expressed his regret that no earlier effort had been made to get at the facts, while more of the participants were still alive. Jefferson probably did not realize that one attempt had been made, twenty-four years before, by his friend James Madison. Irving Brant, working on his life of Madison, discovered that Madison had written on April 4, 1790, to Edmund Pendleton, asking him for a full account of what had happened in the House of Burgesses, in particular "where the resolutions proposed by Mr. Henry *really* originated." The answer which Pendleton returned was missing from the Madison papers, but there were notes by Madison which indicated that it had been lent to William Wirt and never returned. Brant concluded that the letter must have been damaging to Henry's claims to fame and that Wirt, who was prepared to make a hero of Henry, had suppressed and destroyed it.[1] Brant's surmise now appears to be wrong, for Pendleton's letter, in a clear, neat hand, is reposing safely in the Library of the Maryland Historical Society. An extensive search of the records by Mr. Fred Shelley has failed to reveal how it got there and how long it has been there.[2]

[1] *James Madison, The Virginia Revolutionist* (New York, 1941), pp. 184-185.

[2] The letter is one of some 35 documents recorded as having been collected by John Pendleton Kennedy (1795-1870), Maryland author, editor, Congressman, and Secretary of the Navy. Mrs. William Wirt turned over to Kennedy various letters which had been in her husband's possession so that Kennedy could write his public oration or discourse on William Wirt, a 63-page pamphlet in 1834, the year of Wirt's death, and Kennedy's two volume life of Wirt published 15 years

The letter, which follows, will be a disappointment to historians who are looking for another eye-witness account. Brant was able to surmise from Madison's reply to the letter that Pendleton was not present at the events,[3] and so it turns out: Pendleton was among the large number of Burgesses who left before the end of the session and so missed the two crucial days of May 30 and 31. Pendleton's account, therefore, is hearsay, and hearsay remembered at a distance of twenty-five years. It is nevertheless worthy of consideration because of the great scarcity of other kinds of evidence.

The letter does not alter much our picture of the events. The version of Henry's speech is brief and traditional, and there is nothing said about what resolutions were passed or about the rescinding of any of them (another problem about which we need more evidence). The only point on which Pendleton's comments offer any new light is the authorship of the resolves. Henry claimed to have written the resolves and introduced them "alone, unadvised, and unassisted." This claim has long been contested. Edmund Randolph in a manuscript history of Virginia claimed that John Fleming was the author; and Jefferson attributed them to George Johnston.[4] Brant has pointed out that they were drawn in large part from the petitions of the preceding year,[5] which Pendleton had helped to draft. Carl Bridenbaugh has described Henry's move as part of a political manoeuvre by the Members from the upland counties.[6] Pendleton's letter, following the suggestion in Madison's inquiry, refers to the resolves as "attributed" to Henry and says that a number of gentlemen, including Henry, Colonel Munford, and George Johnson, "privately met and formed these Resolutions." This would seem to confirm the idea that Henry was not the sole author of the resolves. Other-

later. Probably the Pendleton letter was among these documents. As the Kennedy Papers went after his death to the Peabody Institute, it seems likely that Kennedy presented the 35 documents in question with one of his gifts to the Maryland Historical Society made during his lifetime. None of the gifts that are recorded in the Society's "donation books" through the year 1871 appears to include the letter, but this fact is not necessarily conclusive as many gifts are described in general terms.—EDITOR.

[3] Brant, *op. cit.*, p. 420.

[4] Randolph's history is in the Virginia Historical Society; Jefferson's attribution is in a letter to William Wirt, August 4, 1805, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXXIV (1910), 389, but see also the letter of August 5, 1815, *ibid.*, 404.

[5] Brant, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

[6] *Seat of Empire: The Political Role of Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg* (Williamsburg, 1950).

wise this letter leaves our understanding of the Virginia Resolves about where it was before. The letter does contain, however, some interesting reflections on the conduct of Richard Henry Lee and on the attitude of the Negro slaves toward the Stamp Act. Pendleton's comments on the contemporary problem of assuming the state debts may be of interest to students of that subject. Though his position is what one might expect, his reasoning reveals the same concern for supporting the national government that his correspondent Madison had long maintained.

In transcribing the letter I have expanded abbreviations but have otherwise maintained the original spelling and punctuation.

Virginia April 21. 1790

Dear Sir

I am further Obliged by your favor of the 4th and two Packets of papers accompanying it. I congratulate you on having that ill-judged and improper measure of Assuming the State debts, 'ere this determined; and tho' a large Majority on so important a Subject was desirable, yet I shall be glad to hear it is finally negatived even by a decision from the Chair.

It has fix'd a Suspicion of a Government by a Junto. The Power of the General Government to make the General Assumption will be questioned, and evils of great Magnitude are to be apprehended from both. If the measure had extended only to an enquiry into the debts, which tho' created under the Authority of individual states, tended to promote the General Interest, and the Assumption of such, it would have been less exceptionable, tho' even then, liable to Objection, as affording an Opportunity for local partialities.

You cannot tax my duty or inclination too high by any requisition. I am only concerned that I cannot so fully gratify your wish as to the proceedings in Virginia respecting the Stamp Act, as you might expect, not being present in May 1765, when the resolutions attributed to Mr. Henry Passed the House.

You'l recollect that previous to that period, Our Assembly had by Petition to the King, Memorial to the Lords, and Remonstrance with the House of Commons, Attacked with Manly but decent language, the Power of Parliament to tax America.[7] In May 1765 when the business of the Session was Supposed to be over—except the concluding ceremonies, and many of the Members retired of which I was one, A Letter was received from Mr. Montague[8] the Agent inclosing a Copy of the Resolution of

[7] The documents are printed in John Pendleton Kennedy, ed., *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia 1761-1765* (Richmond, 1907) pp. 302-305.

[8] Edward Montague, an English barrister, was agent of the colony from 1761 to 1772. He represented primarily the interests of the House of Burgesses, for the Governor and Council had their own agent, James Abercrombie. Some of Montague's

the Lords (or of the Commons agreed to by the Lords) for imposing the Stamp duties, which being as a Master in Chancary, ordered to carry to the Commons, he had taken a Copy and immediately transmitted it. Upon this I have understood that some Gentlemen, of whom Mr. Henry, Colonel Munford [9] and Mr. George Johnston [10] were the Principal movers, privately met and formed those Resolutions which they produced and supported in the House upon what principles I know not being absent, I remember to have heard a Gentleman commend Mr. Henry's dexterity in playing on the line of treason, without passing it, and recollect to have heard a part of his Declamation on the Occasion "Caesar found a Brutus, Our Charles met with a Cromwell; And who knows but in this our day some Cromwell may arise and procure Us justice." I was informed that the Resolutions were Opposed by Mr. Robinson, Mr. Randolph, Mr. Nicholas [11] and indeed all the then leading members upon this ground that they were become unnecessary by the Petition and other papers formerly transmitted and might do mischief by the inflamitory terms in which they were drawn, and had better be softened if Any were judged necessary as a Warning to our Citizens against the Admission of the Stamps; However they passed in their Original form by a small Majority, and the Assembly was dissolved. Intelligence was soon after received of the Passage of the Act and the appointment of Colonel Mercer [12] to be the Pandora of the Box. He arrived during the Session of the General Court in October, when a Number of grave and respectable Gentlemen assembled without the smallest appearance of a Mob, and required his resignation and promise to carry or send back his Stamp'd paper without distributing any part.[13] After asking and obtaining time to consider it, he made a Satisfactory resignation and promise and an evening of festivity was spent. The Governor, Council and Assembly in 1763, had strongly

correspondence with the House of Burgesses is printed in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* X-XII (1902-1905), but the letters for 1765 are missing.

[9] Robert Munford (ca. 1730-1784) representative from Mecklenburg County, future author of *The Candidates* and *The Patriots.*

[10] George Johnston (1700-1766), representative for Fairfax County, was credited by Jefferson with authorship of the resolves. Jefferson also said that he supported them in the House with "solid reasoning." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* XXXIV (1910), 389.

[11] John Robinson was both Speaker of the House and Treasurer of the Colony. When he died in 1766, it was found that he had loaned public funds to his friends, and as a result of the scandal the offices of Speaker and Treasurer were divided. Peyton Randolph, hitherto King's Attorney, obtained the Speakership, and Robert Carter Nicholas became Treasurer. Jefferson's account concurs with Pendleton's in placing Robinson, Randolph, and Nicholas as opponents of Henry's resolves. Randolph had served, along with Pendleton himself, on the committee which drew up the petition, memorial, and remonstrance of the previous year.

[12] George Mercer was in England when the Stamp Act was passed and secured appointment as Distributor of Stamps for Virginia, possibly through Benjamin Franklin. See a letter from Mercer to Franklin, in the Franklin Papers (American Philosphical Society), vol. I, no. 132, April 4, 1765.

[13] A detailed account of the gathering which forced Mercer to resign may be found in Governor Fauquier's letter to the Board of Trade Nov. 3, 1765, part of which is printed in *Journals of the House of Burgesses 1761-1765,* lxviii-lxxi.

recommended Colonel Mercer to the King's favor for his bravery in the preceeding War; Hence I suppose that Administration had counted upon his appointment, as a means of assisting their purpose; but they were mistaken, not a friend was gained by that step, unless among his personal connections who never avowed it, tho' there were many who did not think him so blaimable, in the Acceptance, (as at that distance he could not know the sense of his Countrey, or concieve that the measure would at all depend upon the Appointment of him or another) as those did who burnt his Effigies in different parts of the State; especially since he knew that a Gentleman of consequence in Virginia had Sollicited the Office [14]— tell it not in Gath! Spread it not in the Streets of Askalon! that the same Gentleman was active in the incendiary stigma, as well as in the March of about 600 men to Tappahannock to attack a certain Archibald Ritchie and prevent him from using Stamped paper in clearing out a Vessel, without which he was advised she would be forfeited; in which however I mean not to arraign the measure, but the number emploied and the Parade and noise on the Occasion, as well as the improper leader of it.

I know there are diversity of sentiments on the comparative merit of the firm but decent representations to the King and Parliament; and these paper'd resolutions, as well as between the Cool and deliberate proceedings of some friends to America in the beginning of the Conflict, and the impetuosity of others who seem'd disposed to precipitate the War. I am one of those who always allowed some degree of merit to those resolutions, and warmth of temper, but who ever thought and still think that too much was attributed to them, and that our Success was produced by the papers and Conduct of a different cast, which carried our serious Yeomanry so firmly through the Struggle, a dispute however now of no consequence, except when used to give a wrong impression of consequential Characters. I recollect no other Annecdote on the Occasion, unless it will amuse you to mention a law question refer'd by the Judges of the General Court to the Bar i. e. whether the words for the commencement of the Act, " from and after the first of November " were to include or exclude that day? The learned Gentlemen consulting rigid distinctions in musty law books, rather than common sense, gave an Opinion of an Oracular kind, which the Judges disregarding, adopted the inclusive interpretation, and adjourned to the next term without doing any business on that day. may I add, as it is fashionable to puff away the Magnanimity and what not of a certain race of men, two African annecdotes, one of an old man who attended one of the Effigies, and when it was reduced to Ashes Addressed it thus " Aha! you want to Stampy us,

[14] Richard Henry Lee, when he first heard that a Stamp Act was being considered, solicited the position which was given to Mercer. Mercer's brother James later contended that Lee continued to seek the office until Mercer was appointed, while Lee claimed that he recalled his request for the office as soon as he had time to consider the pernicious character of the Stamp Act. (see *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, Oct. 3, 1766). In any case Lee became the moving spirit of the Virginia Sons of Liberty. For the attack on Archibald Ritchie, mentioned below, see the *Maryland Gazette*, March 27, 1766.

do you? damme me Stampy you " and plunged his foot into the Ashes[.] the other on the night of Mercer's resignation, staggering through the Streets from the Toddy given the Populace, Huzza'd " Liberty and property and no Stamps." By the by, is it kind in our Northern friends who are fortunately out of the scrape, by these daily publications On that disagreable subject to hold out their Southern brethren to the world as Monsters of Tyrany and Oppression, because they can't make so great a Sacrifice of property fairly purchased by them under an unlucky policy, in which they had no hand? I can see no instances in which they manifest a promptitude to make such Sacrifices.

Whilst writing your favor of the 13th was handed me, and I feel pleasure at the Rejection of the Assumption of the state debts, not only from it's demerits, but it may lessen the Suspicions of a Junto rule, when they see it don't constantly prevail. I know the perservering temper of the East, and that they will bring on the Question in every possible shape— I hope they'l meet disappointment in all. I am

Dear Sir Most Affectionately Yours

Edmund Pendleton

Honorable J. Madison jr.

COMMENT ON THE PENDLETON LETTER

By Irving Brant

When Madison asked Edmund Pendleton, in 1790, to tell him where the 1765 Stamp Act resolutions proposed by Patrick Henry "*really* originated," he was not feeling very friendly toward the great orator. Mr. Henry, stung by his failure to defeat Virginia's ratification of the new Federal Constitution, had used his control of the legislature late in 1788 to thwart Madison's election to the United States Senate. He then induced the Assembly to gerrymander (a word as yet unknown) Madison's congressional district in a vain effort to keep him out of the House of Representatives.[1] In the fall of 1789, Henry helped to block the state's ratification of the first ten amendments to the Constitution. Madison regarded this as part of the general war on the federal government, and his antipathy was sharpened when Henry came before the public in 1790 as organizer of a Yazoo land speculation whose

[1] George Lee Turberville to Madison, October 27, November 10, 1788, New York Public Library.

success was thought to be menaced by the supremacy of federal over state power in dealing with the Creek Indians.[2]

Pendleton's reply to the inquiry about Henry, which Mr. Morgan has brought to light after so many years, was sent by Madison to William Wirt in response to a request made in July 1815. With the return of peace, Wirt suggested, Madison might give his mind "a holy day of rest" by recalling and noting briefly whatever would aid the Henry biography. In particular, could he explain the '76 and '81 projects for making Henry a dictator over Virginia? Recalling that Madison was a member of the 1776 Assembly, Wirt asked if he could tell who were the authors of the scheme and particularly "whether Mr. Henry himself was at the bottom of them or in any way privy and consenting to them." [3]

Madison's reply, which has disappeared, apparently was noncommittal or indecisively negative. In his book, Wirt wrote only that he had "met with no one who will venture to affirm" Henry's approval of the 1776 project, whereas in the second instance (growing out of Tarleton's raid), the replies from surviving members of the 1781 legislature had "resulted in a conviction of his entire innocence." [4]

Madison sent him, however, at least two and perhaps more letters written by Pendleton, including the one of April 21, 1790. Why did Wirt suppress that letter, which furnished the only (then) known account of the 1765 proceedings written early enough to escape the weaknesses of age and legend? The reason can be deduced from the letter itself, and perhaps from what Wirt wrote to Jefferson in the course of correspondence about the biography:

> "You will observe that I have trodden very lightly on the errors of Mr. Henry's declining years. He did us much good in his better days, and no evil has resulted from his later aberrations. Will not his biographer then be excused in forgetting them, and holding up the brighter side of his character only, to imitation." [5]

When biography is written to hold up the bright side only, it is just as useful to exaggerate early brightness as to omit later

[2] Brant, *James Madison, Father of the Constitution* (New York, 1950), pp. 194, 286.
[3] William Wirt to Madison, July 23, 1815, Rives Papers, Library of Congress.
[4] Wirt, *Life and Character of Patrick Henry* (1818), pp. 204, 231.
[5] Wirt to Jefferson, October 23, 1816, Wirt Papers, Library of Congress.

shadows, and the process is the same. Had he used the Pendleton letter, Wirt would have been forced to present two accounts of the part his hero played. There would have been Henry's statement in a posthumously found memorandum that he wrote the resolves "alone, unadvised and unassisted." Casting a shadow on this would be Pendleton's understanding that "some gentlemen, of whom Mr. Henry, Colonel Munford and Mr. George Johnson were the principal movers, privately met and formed those resolutions." Instead of letting people read both statements and take their choice, Wirt quoted Jefferson's recollection, after a lapse of fifty years, that "Mr. Henry moved and Mr. Johnson seconded these resolutions," and asserted in a footnote of his own: "The report of the day, that Mr. Johnston drew the resolutions, is certainly unfounded." [6]

In the second place, Pendleton recalled the praise he had heard of "Mr. Henry's dexterity in playing on the line of treason, without passing it." Like the later-discovered journal of the French eyewitness, his account omitted the legendary defiance ("If this be treason . . .") in which the line was crossed. Finally, had the letter been published by Wirt, the disclosure that Pendleton left Williamsburg before the debate began would have discounted the accuracy of Jefferson's account, which made Pendleton one of the leading opposition debaters. By failing to present Pendleton's own disproof of this error, Wirt violated the spirit of a promise he made to Jefferson "that everything personal to Mr. Pendleton should be stricken out" of the manuscript.[7] The tone of the biography, before its final revision, must have reflected sharply the lifelong antagonism between Henry and Pendleton, the former of whom began as a radical and wound up as an extreme conservative, while the latter began as a conservative and became at last a moderate radical. The hostility between them reached its height in the 1780's, when Henry fought unavailingly against the Jefferson-Pendleton-Wythe revisal of Virginia laws, but succeeded in defeating Pendleton's system of court reform, both of which programs were under Madison's charge in the legislature. They

[6] Wirt, *op. cit.*, pp. 59 n, 60.

[7] In his letter of October 23, 1816, (note 5, above) Wirt wrote: "My other friends concur in the opinion that everything personal to Mr. Pendleton should be stricken out; and I shall do it with the greater pleasure, because it would have been very painful to me, had I found it my duty to cast a shade upon his memory."

were even at odds over Federal assumption of state war debts. While Pendleton was rejoicing in this letter over its temporary defeat of assumption, Henry was piling up defaulted Georgia securities at a few cents on the dollar, with which to pay for Yazoo lands. He did not get the lands but became wealthy when the securities were taken up at face value by the United States, under the Hamilton funding system.[8]

From the standpoint of a Henry partisan, there was ample reason to say nothing about the Pendleton Stamp Act letter. But it is hard to escape the inference that there was some connection between Wirt's failure to use it and Madison's inability to get it back.[9]

[8] Brant, *op. cit.*, 194, 431.

[9] On the draft of his April 4, 1790, letter to Pendleton, Madison pencilled: "The answer of Mr. P. was sent to Mr. Wirt when collecting materials for his life of P. H. and not returned." A similar note was pencilled on the draft of the May 2, 1790, letter acknowledging Pendleton's answer: "As yet in the hands of Mr. Wirt." (Madison MSS, XIII, 3, 18, Library of Congress.) On May 5, 1828, forwarding a letter from "Mr. Eppes," Madison asked leave "to remind you of the letters from Mr. Pendleton," whose return he desired to close a gap in his files. Wirt's failure to comply with this request, though not the reason for it, is disclosed in a memorandum in the handwriting of Anna Cutts, Dolley Madison's niece. Following the closely consecutive deaths of Madison and Wirt, the latter's widow asked for a return of his letters. A list of those sent on August 30, 1837, contains this entry: "May 19th 1828—returning Mr. Eppes' letter, and speaking of those of Mr. Pendleton loaned him.' The returned correspondence is not in the Wirt Papers in the Library of Congress.

THE ABBEY, OR RINGGOLD HOUSE, AT CHESTERTOWN, MARYLAND[1]

By Raymond B. Clark, Jr.

A VISITOR crossing the Chester River bridge sees the lawns and waterfronts of a row of handsome brick houses which line one side of Chestertown's main residential street, appropriately known as Water Street[2] similar, perhaps to Newcastle, Delaware. Standing on a rise near the end of the street, The Abbey, or Ringgold House, one of the best surviving examples of colonial architecture on the Eastern Shore, is partially obscured from view. Although some distance away from the homes built mostly before the Revolution by merchants and planters, depending in size and detail on their wealth and position, and in some cases owned today by descendants of the original builders, this two-story brick house, that is the subject of this article, stands at the corner of Cannon Street, facing Water Street with an uninterrupted view of the Chester River beyond.

The Abbey is typically a town house. Chestertown, a thriving port, and the social center of the Eastern Shore just prior to the Revolution and after, considered herself a rival of Annapolis. Consequently this house was the scene of many entertainments. Curiously, its name has never been explained. How or when this designation with its religious connotation was first applied has not been discovered though there is said to be record of its use for a century or more. Many now prefer to call it the Ringgold

[1] The house is briefly described in Paul Wilstach's *Tidewater Maryland* (Indianapolis, 1931); Swepson Earle, *The Chesapeake Bay Country* (Baltimore, 1923); *Maryland Gardens and Homes,* compiled by Elizabeth Fisk Clapp, Charleton Merrick Gillet, and Romaine McI. Randall (Baltimore, 1938). A fuller account is in Katherine Scarborough's *Homes of the Cavaliers* (New York, 1930). Most of the following account was secured by observation and personal interviews of the author. Grateful acknowledgment is made to Mr. Wilbur Ross Hubbard, Mrs. Gilbert W. Mead, and the Editor for assistance in preparing the article.

[2] The formal name of the street is Front, but many residents follow ancient custom in saying Water Street.

House after the owner who gave it its present form and distinction. Some speak of it as the Pearce house, since the famous Maryland Senator, James Alfred Pearce, was a later owner of the property.

Thomas Ringgold, a prosperous 18th century merchant, in 1767 bought two separate brick residences, one fronting on Water Street and the other in its rear, facing on Cannon Street. He then built a new structure to connect the two, thus reversing the usual plan of plantation mansions, where a central block is flanked on both sides by smaller wings. It is assumed that the panelling was installed at the time of these changes. The house is thus in three parts, with the Water Street section the major part. Ringgold also bought two waterfront lots (20 and 21), landscaped them, and enclosed the garden, which then exceeded its present boundaries, with a high but attractive brick wall.

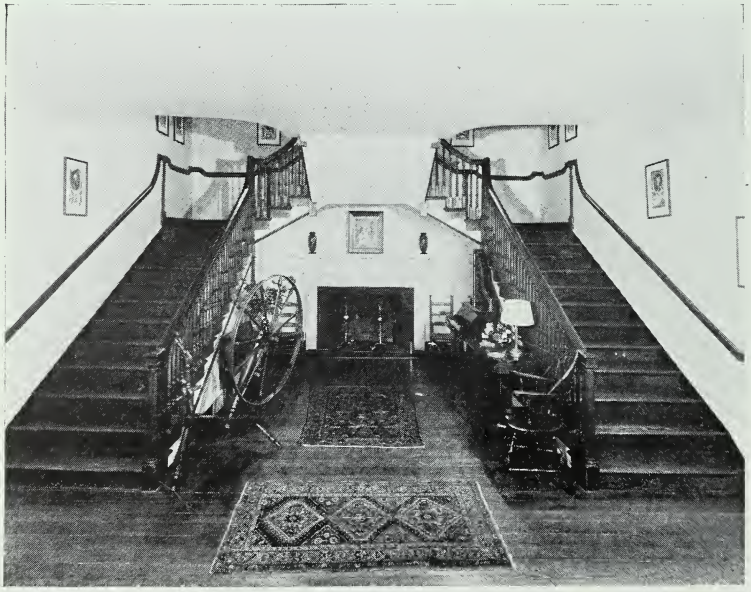
The earliest section of the house is at the rear. It was probably built by Nathaniel Palmer about 1740.[3] It is an excellent example of early architecture and originally contained a hall and three rooms downstairs. One of these rooms was the kitchen and still contains the old fireplace with the original cranes and pot-hooks in place. Unfortunately this room has been somewhat marred by alterations, but it is planned eventually to restore it to its original condition, recreating the room around the fireplace.

The front of the house facing on Water Street has an excellent Georgian facade. Its stone portico with Ionic columns is, however, a comparatively recent addition. This portion was built probably by 1743 by Nathaniel Hynson and contains a paneled entrance hall.[4] The drawing room on the right was completely paneled and had a beautifully carved overmantel and unusual treatment over the doorways. The paneling from this room was bought in 1932 for the Baltimore Museum of Art where it is installed as one of the principal ornaments of the Maryland Wing. A reproduction of this beautiful interior has replaced the original. The latter will be described below.

[3] Nathaniel Palmer, merchant, purchased one-half of Chestehtown Iot # 6, as is evidenced by an early deed (Liber # 5, Kent County, f. 83) from Henry Cully, trader, for £ 20/10 on July 29, 1737, and built his home facing Cannon Street which intersected Water Street. By April 6, 1743, he had sold the half lot and building to John Brett, mariner, of Norfolk, Virginia, for £ 50 (Liber # 5, f. 600).

[4] Nathaniel Hynson, Jr., built his house on the other half of Lot # 6 (see note 3) but sold his interest, the "Westernmost moiety," to Dr. William Murray, "Churgeon," on December 6, 1743, for £ 60 (Liber # 6, f. 43). In 1758 Murray bought the other half from Brett (Liber # 6, f. 48).

THE ABBEY OR RINGGOLD HOUSE—FROM THE GARDEN



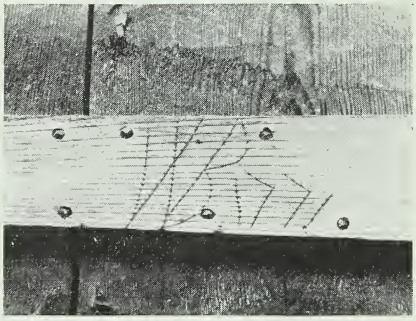
TWO VIEWS OF THE "ANTLER" STAIRCASE

FIREPLACE AND PANELING IN THE "CHESTERTOWN ROOM"

Courtesy Baltimore Museum of Art

GENERAL VIEW OF "CHESTERTOWN ROOM"

Courtesy Baltimore Museum of Art



The Initials and Date Found When the Paneling Was Installed in the Maryland Wing of the Baltimore Museum of Art

Courtesy Baltimore Museum of Art

Across the hall is a large room, the private drawing room, also completely paneled, and painted a grey-blue, but in simpler design. The lack of a mantel-shelf implies the early date of the work. Above the fireplace there are three horizontal panels. Beginning with a large one at the top these panels decrease in width toward the fireplace, and the lowest space is divided vertically into two parts. Fluted pilasters on either side of the fireplace extend from floor to ceiling. On the left of the fireplace there is an attractive cupboard with double doors and coved ceiling. It is apparent that it was matched originally by a corresponding cupboard on the right, but unfortunately one of the owners altered its interior to make bookshelves. The doors, however, remain and a full restoration of the original is anticipated. The windows on this floor, except in the other drawing room, as also those on the second floor, are graced by window seats and inside paneled shutters. Much original hardware is in the house. The lighting fixtures were another example of an innovation of an owner.

From the hallway the visitor leaves the "Hynson" house through an arched doorway leading into the "new" stair-hall. On the right he overlooks the extensive garden, while on the left is the unusual and beautiful double stairway. The famous staircase is of the "antler" type, having double wings leading to the landing. The walnut stair-rail is in the delicate molded design seen in the Hammond-Harwood house and elsewhere in Maryland. The steps are of solid walnut. The fireplace under the landing is a modern addition, replacing the original street entrance, or carriage door, of the house. The garden door opposite the fireplace has the original hinges and a steel spring-lock with brass knobs.[5]

Beyond the doorway a corridor along the garden side of the house leads to the dining-room on the left, a charming room of smaller proportions, with inviting greenish-gray walls. Next to it is the breakfast room and beyond it the modern kitchen. From the latter a door leads to the old kitchen, which served in the recent past as a carriage house and garage. The breakfast room, the present kitchen and the old kitchen are in the early house built by Palmer.

A small "hidden stairway," not infrequently found in the

[5] On one of the steel escutcheons is the name "W. M. Brat." The initials "I. S." are found on another.

well-built homes of this era as a necessary convenience in case of an emergency, was behind the dining room chimney but was entered from the breakfast room. It was removed when the house was undergoing repairs in 1916-17. Evidence remains today in the corner and ceiling of the breakfast room.

The second floor is patterned after the first floor with two master bedrooms and hall with bath over the drawing rooms and entrance hall. These rooms likewise have paneling and fireplaces. The room over the drawing room is paneled in plaster except the fireplace end which is paneled in wood. Above the dining room is the library. Bedrooms, baths, and a spacious sitting room, or upper stair hall, occupy the remainder of this floor. The house has a large cellar, and there are generous attics in all parts of the house.

As a memorial to the late John Hemsley Johnson (1861-1927) the paneling from the drawing room in The Abbey, or Ringgold House, was purchased in 1932 by Mrs. Johnson and installed at her expense in the Maryland Wing of the Baltimore Museum of Art. Beautifully restored and largely furnished with pieces of the Chippendale period, this room is now known as the "Chestertown Room." It is a distinguished example of Maryland craftsmanship.

The room measures 21 feet 2 inches in length, 12 feet 10 inches in width with a ceiling height of 10 feet. The paneling is of pine painted white. The doors are also of pine but stained to resemble mahogany. The feature of the room is the overmantel above the gray veined Prince of Prussia marble facing of the fireplace. The narrow mantel shelf is supported by an interestingly designed series of heavy moulding. Above is a large eared rectangular panel surmounted by an ornamented frieze. A classical broken pediment of exquisite workmanship fills the remaining space beneath the finely moulded cornice. The dentils of the pediment form a Wall of Troy design which is deeply cut in a slanting direction, not at right angles to the face, and symmetrical on the center line of the pediment. The same oblique work is continued in the cornice of the entire room. This unusual pattern is to be seen in a few other Maryland houses. Above the two doors, one of which is a false door to preserve the symmetry of the room, are elaborately carved friezes and cornices. There is a chair rail along the walls.

The frieze above the panel above the fireplace and the plain surfaces to right and left of it are decorated with sophisticated designs in carved wood. The decoration on each side consists of a large bow-knot from which falls an elaborate swag of flowers and fruits. In the frieze this ornamentation consists of formalized foliage except in the projecting center panel where a pictorial rendering of some classical story has been carved. There is a tree in the center, a swan or goose at left bearing a branch and a seemingly Oriental house at right. Tradition has called this Noah's Ark with the dove and olive branch, out of which has grown the mistaken idea that it somehow represents the Ark and the Dove, vessels that brought the first settlers to Maryland.[6]

When the paneling was taken down for removal to its present location there was found incised, as if by a chisel, on the reverse side of a board the initials " WB " in cipher and the date 1771. This has given rise to the presumption that William Buckland was the designer of the room. While complete proof is lacking, there is a strong probability that Buckland is responsible for the work. In the first place the overall design and the details of ornamentation are similar to his work in Annapolis. Furthermore, the date is within the brief period, 1771 to 1774, when he was living in Maryland.[7] There is at least one known case when he signed his name " W. Buckland " with the " W " and " B " conjoined.

Since the restoration of Ringgold House, the Baltimore Museum of Art has lent from its collections appropriate furnishings for the room including Chippendale side chairs, an 1820 James Stewart spinet, a game table, and a Chippendale mirror. Interested persons have lent andirons, hurricane lamps, a card table, Cantonese plates, and a Lowestoft bowl. The secretary and desk set, among the pieces which belonged to the Pearce family, are in this room between the front window and the entrance to the room from the hall. The windows, with small, very wrinkled panes, are the only ones in the entire house without window seats. The floor of this room is the only new one in the house.

[6] Another disinguished house built by a member of this family, the Ringgold house in Long Green Valley, Baltimore County, also has hand carved mantels of unusual beauty. Though the decorations here do not employ the identical motifs seen in the Chestertown Room, they indicate the interest of the Ringgold family in architectural embellishment.

[7] See " New Light on William Buckland " by Dr. James Bordley, Jr., pp. 153-154, which shows that Buckland worked in Maryland before 1771.—Editor.

Many persons have, of course, found shelter in the Ringgold House. Varied facets in the history of the house are revealed by the accounts of some of the prominent occupants. Thomas Ringgold, the builder, was very active in affairs before and during the American Revolution. He was appointed with Colonel Edward Tilghman and William Murdock by the Maryland Assembly to represent the colony in New York at the Stamp Act Congress in 1765 [8] and was one of the authors of a series of resolutions on Constitutional rights and privileges of Freemen of the colonies, which were accepted by the Congress. He was a member of several sessions of the Maryland Legislature between 1762 and 1768 [9] and served as a delegate to the convention which framed Maryland's first constitution.[10] Benjamin Franklin after his 1754 visit to Maryland asked him to be the Eastern Shore representative for subscriptions for the *Pennsylvania Gazette*.[11]

The first Thomas Ringgold, born in 1609 and the progenitor of the line in Maryland, is said to have emigrated from England and first settled in the colony of Virginia. He removed to Kent Island in Maryland about 1650, a widower with two children, James and John. He purchased a tract of land of 1,000 acres called "Cox's Neck" (in Queen Anne's County today), and on July 17, 1659, a tract of 1,200 acres called "Hunting Fields" was surveyed and patented to him on the west side of the Chester River in Kent County. He served as one of the justices of the county court for Kent County in 1651 when Captain Robert Vaughan was commander and is listed among the inhabitants of Kent in 1652.[12] Appointed by Richard Bennett, Edward Courtiss, and William Claiborne as one of nine to govern Kent Island in 1652, he also with Philip Connor was to be one of any court of action.

Major James Ringgold, son of Thomas Ringgold, owner of the manor in Eastern Neck, part owner of the Hunting Fields estate, had a smaller 150 acre tract surveyed for him on March 24, 1665, as "Ringgold's Fortune" which was on the north side of Chester

[8] Paul H. Giddens, "Maryland, the Stamp Act Controversy," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XXVIII (1932), 79-98. Also cited in Esther Mohr Dole, *Maryland During the Revolution* (Chestertown, 1941).

[9] George A. Hanson, *Old Kent* (Baltimore, 1876), p. 66.

[10] *Maryland Manual*, 1948-1949, pp. 382-383.

[11] Joseph T. Wheeler, "Bookselling and Circulating Libraries in Colonial Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XXXIV (1939), 137.

[12] *Archives of Maryland*, LIV, 4-5, and M. P. Andrews, *Tercentenary History of Maryland* (Chicago, 1925), IV, 193-194.

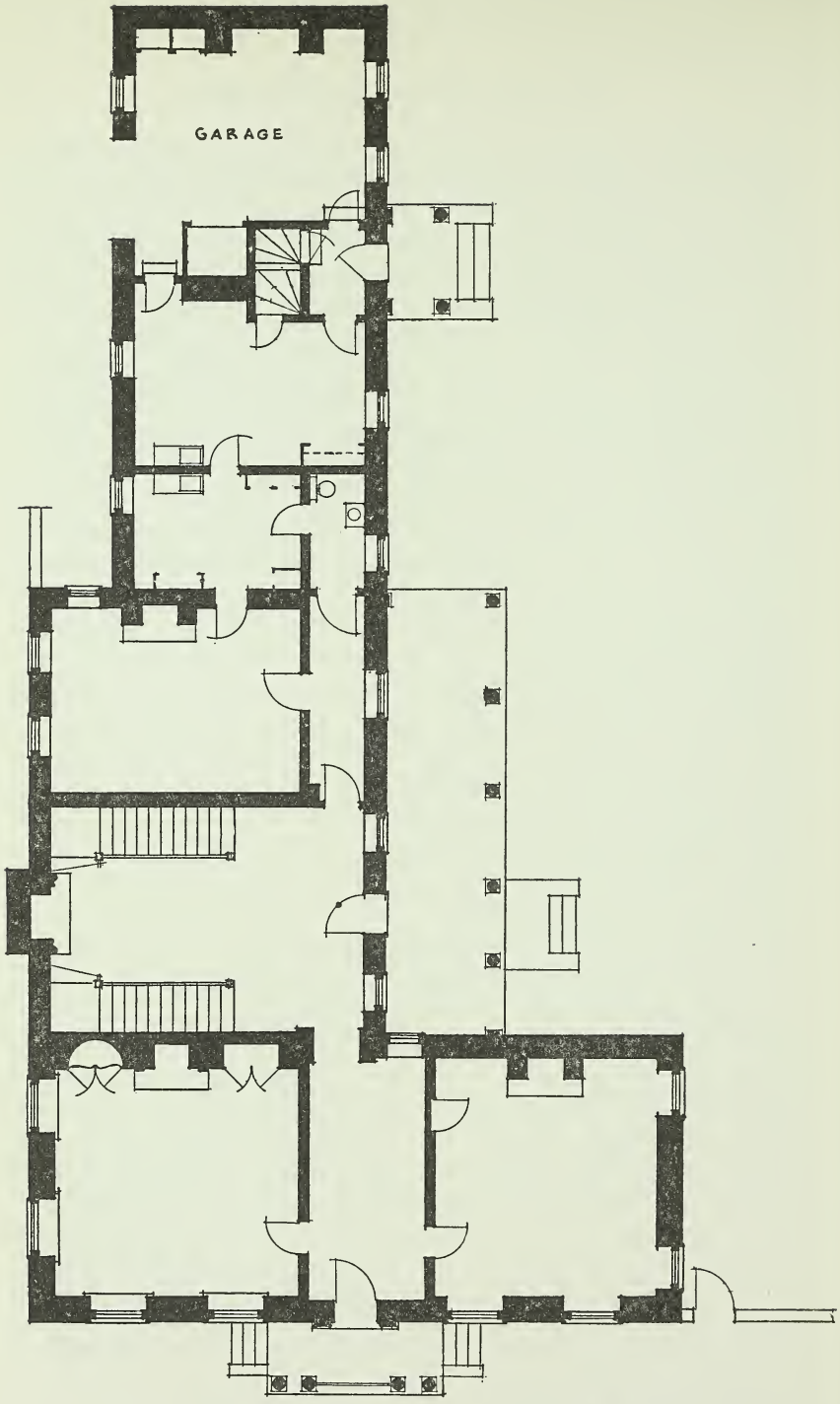
River, at the head of a branch of Langford Bay. He was a justice of the peace for Kent County in 1661, 1674-1677, and 1680. The Major had one son, Thomas, by his first wife and four children by his second marriage with Mary Vaughan, daughter of Capt. Robert Vaughan, commissioner of port of Kent from 1647 until 1652. Major Ringgold's will made May 18, 1686, and proved September 28, 1686, left " Ringgold's Fortune " to his son Charles, " The Plains " to sons William and John, and other property to his eldest son James, with the agreement that if he was the heir to the Vaughan estates, the bequest of lands should go to Thomas, the only son of his first marriage.

This Thomas Ringgold was married three times.[13] By his first wife, Sarah, who died April 20, 1699, he had one son, Thomas. The latter married on May 1, 1712, Rebecca Wilmer, daughter of Simon and Rebecca Wilmer of an old Kent County family. Their children were: Thomas, Rebecca, William, and Sarah. Thomas Ringgold, elder son of Thomas and Rebecca Wilmer Ringgold, born December 5, 1715, was commonly called the merchant. He married Anna Maria Earle, of a distinguished Queen Anne's family and daughter of James and Mary Tilghman Earle. It was he who purchased the two houses and built the connecting part. Prominent in politics and so successful in business that he became one of the wealthiest men on the Eastern Shore, he was a social leader in Chestertown, frequently entertaining at his home, " Ringgold House." His one son, Thomas, born in 1744, also became active in politics, serving as a member of the Convention called to draw up a constitution and republican form of government that met in Annapolis on May 8, 1776. He married Mary Galloway and had four children. His wife was the daughter of Samuel Galloway of " Tulip Hill " in Anne Arundel County.[14] Thomas' father, the merchant, died April 1, 1772.[15] Ringgold House thus passed to his son, who like his father, entertained frequently. No less a personage than George Washington, with his step-son, Jackie Custis, stopped there in May of 1773. General Washington was taking Jackie to New York to matriculate at

[13] He married Mary Tylden, daughter of Marmaduke and Rebecca Tylden, for his second wife, September 17, 1699. She died September 9, 1798, leaving as children, Sarah, Elias, James, and Joseph Ringgold. Thomas Ringgold who died October 11, 1711, was survived by his third wife, Frances, and two small shildren, Josias and Mary Ann.

[14] Hanson, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-66.

[15] Will made February 8, 1768, but proven April 10, 1772.



FLOOR PLAN OF THE ABBEY OR RINGGOLD HOUSE

Courtesy Mr. Henry Powell Hopkins

The garage and two rooms at the top of drawing formed the "Palmer House." The "Hynson House" consisted of the two large rooms and hallway shown in lower part of drawing.

King's College. An entry in his diary for May 13, 1773 reads: "Dind on Board the Annapolis at Chester Town, and supped and lodgd at Ringold's." [16]

Thomas Ringgold died October 26, 1776, at the early age of 32. His will, probated December 6, 1776, attested to his wealth. He owned property in Frederick and Queen Anne's counties and several lots in Chestertown.[17] His mother, the former Anna Maria Earle, lived until 1794 at Ringgold House where she died at the age of 70. Her will, proved July 15, 1794, mentioned her daughter-in-law, Mary Galloway, and her grandchildren in addition to her brothers, sisters, and their families.[18]

Included in the will of William Ringgold, formerly of Queen Anne's County but now (1798) a resident of Kent County, was mention of Charlotte Spencer, his wife, Isaac Spencer, his father-in-law, Thomas Ringgold, son of his brother Thomas, now both dead, and Jarvis and Charlotte Ringgold, his children. His executors were Charlotte and William Spencer.[19]

From the younger Thomas the property seems to have passed to his brother William, who had married Charlotte Spencer, daughter of Isaac Spencer.[20] The trustees of William Ringgold sold the property, consisting of lots 6, part of 7, 20, 21, and part of 10 to James E. Barroll in 1834.[21] In 1854 the Barroll interests sold the Ringgold property to James A. Pearce.[22]

Senator James Alfred Pearce, son of Gideon and Julia Dick Pearce, was born, December 14, 1805, at the home of his maternal grandfather, Dr. Elisha Cullen Dick, in Alexandria (then part of the District of Columbia).[23] Young Pearce spent his childhood

[16] John C. Fitzaptrick (ed.), *Diaries of George Washington, 1748-1799* (Boston, 1925), II, 111. Thomas Ringgold had "dined and lodgd" at Mount Vernon on March 23, 1771. *Ibid.*, II, 11.

[17] His will was made February 15, 1774. Liber # 5, f. 230. Mentioned in *Maryland Calendar of Wills,* compiled and edited by Jane Baldwin Cotton and Robert Boiling Cotton (Baltimore, 1901).

[18] Sarah Elisabeth Stuart, *Kent County Calendar of Wills*, II, 336. Liber # 7, f. 436.

[19] *Ibid.*, IV, 448. Liber # 7, f. 617.

[20] *Ibid.*, III, 150. Will made May 20, 1783, probated July 21, 1785.

[21] Liber J. N. G., # 4, f. 219-221.

[22] Liber J. F. G., # 2, f. 265.

[23] Senator Pearce was a descendant in the fifth generation from William Pearce who emigrated from Scotland to the Eastern Shore of Maryland about 1670 and later became sheriff of Cecil County. Gideon Pearce, of Georgetown, Kent County, was a farmer, well-educated, and "of more than ordinary personal attractions and accomplishments, but so sanguine in temperament and visionary in character that most of his enterprises ended in disappointment and pecuniary disaster." His sense of honor and temper involved him in a duel in Maryland and another in Louisiana,

at the home of his grandfather and at "Colchester," the home of his uncle, James Pearce, on the Sassafras River, near Georgetown. His uncle married late in life and had no children; so his nephew took the place of a son and lived there during recesses in college and for a short time afterwards. The details of his education were closely superintended by his grandfather. At the age of fourteen, in 1819, he entered Princeton from which he received in 1822 an M. A. degree.

After his graduation from Princeton Pearce studied law and was admitted to the Maryland Bar in 1824. He practiced one year in Cambridge, county seat of Dorchester County, before joining his father in Louisiana in managing a sugar plantation on the Red River. Returning three years later, he established a residence at Chestertown and opened a law office. He married Martha J. Laird, of Cambridge, October 6, 1829.[24] After the death of Mrs. Pearce, he married Matilda C. Ringgold, daughter of Richard W. Ringgold, in 1847.

In 1831 he began his career of public service by running on the Whig ticket for delegate to the General Assembly, a position which he won. He was elected a Congressman from his district and served from 1835 to 1839 and from 1841 to 1843. Pearce was advanced to the U. S. Senate in 1843 where he served until his death in 1862. Offered a federal judgeship and a cabinet post as Secretary of the Interior by President Fillmore, Pearce refused on the grounds that he was of greater service as a Senator.

He was too much a gentleman and too much opposed to all embellishments of oratory to have made for himself a great name as an orator. His speeches were few but scholarly and carried great weight among his colleagues. His views on finance were always well received. He was all his life a student and his broad culture and background made him a supporter in every matter relative to education and science, and it is probably in this connection that he performed his best services as a Senator. As chairman of the Committee on the Library he was responsible for the augmented fund for books and supplies for the Library of Con-

in which he was critically wounded. He farmed until 1822 in Kent County when he went to Louisiana and engaged in sugar planting. He made only one visit back to Maryland. He moved to Warsaw, Missouri, where he died November 5, 1851. Julia Dick Pearce, the Senator's mother, died in 1808 in Alexandria when he was three, leaving also an infant daughter, Opelia.

[24] They had two daughters and a son. Catherine Julia married Dr. J. L. Burris of Louisa County, Virginia. Charlotte Augusta Lenox married Arthur Crisfield of Washington, D. C.

gress. Senator Pearce's fine library, with that of his son, the judge, was given to Washington College. Pearce actively supported such institutions and projects as the Smithsonian Institution, serving as a member of the Board of Regents and Executive Committee, the Botanical Gardens, and the Coast Survey. His annual reports on the latter agency were definitive. The architects, painters, sculptors, and others working on the completion and extension of the Capitol Building and other public buildings in Washington found in Pearce an enlightened supporter of their works. Probably most famous for his amendment to Henry Clay's compromise bill of 1850, and his stand on the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, he was considered advanced because of his views on Oregon boundary dispute and the spoils system. Opposed to secession but equally against the maintenance of a union by force, Senator Pearce bitterly denounced in his last speeches the efforts of the Lincoln administration to curb arbitrarily civil rights in Maryland.[25]

James A. Pearce, Jr., only son of Senator and Mrs. Pearce, was born April 2, 1840, at Chestertown. After attending Washington College, he was graduated from Princeton in 1859. He then read law, taught at Washington College, and was admitted to the bar in 1864. He returned to Chestertown from Baltimore where he won instant success as a lawyer. In 1867 he was elected State's Attorney and served until 1875. In 1895 he was the Democratic candidate for state senator, but was defeated in the first Republican victory in 30 years. On November 1, 1866, he married Eunice Rasin, eldest daughter of Unit Rasin and Martha Hanson Rasin, a lineal descendant of John Hanson, President of Continental Congress, 1781-1782. Identified with many professional and civic affairs in Chestertown, James Alfred Pearce, Jr., was elected Chief Justice of the Second Circuit in 1897. He also served on the Maryland Court of Appeals from which he retired

[25] In addition to the sketch of Senator Pearce in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIV, 352-353, and the *Biographical Directory of the American Congress* (1928), p. 1394, there were two monographs printed shortly after his death: *Address on the Death of the Honorable James A. Pearce, delivered in the Senate and House of Representatives on Tuesday January 13, 1863* (Washington, 1863); and the eulogy delivered by Professor A. D. Bache at a meeting of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, January 31, 1863. Special studies such as Dr. Charles B. Clark's admirable series of articles on politics in Maryland during the Civil War published in the *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XXXVI-XL (1941-1945). Bernard C. Steiner published much of the correspondence of Pearce in a series of articles in the *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XVI-XIX (1921-1924). The Pearce letters are in the library of the Maryland Historical Society. Some letters are in the Polk and Van Buren Papers at the Library of Congress.

in 1912. Princeton conferred an L. L. D. upon him three years later. Judge Pearce was a member of the school board, president of the Second National Bank, and a Visitor of Washington College, serving as Secretary of the Board of Visitors and Governors for thirty years. A vestryman of Emmanuel Episcopal Church, he was Chancellor of the Diocese of Easton. He died in 1920.[26]

Judge Pearce and his wife conveyed Ringgold House and property to Josias Ringgold for $6,000. On December 24, 1899, the bond of conveyance was reviewed and it was agreed to divide the property between Josias and Mary C. Ringgold, his wife.[27] She sold parcels of the property to the Chestertown Steamboat Company, Joseph Peterson,[28] and Mrs. Polly Wescott.[29] Mrs. Ilma Pratt Catlin, wife of Henry Whaland Catlin of New York, purchased the house and lands September 30, 1916.[30] In 1944 Mr. Wilbur Ross Hubbard and a group of friends purchased the property and presented it to Washington College for use as a residence of the President. It was the home of Dr. and Mrs. Gilbert W. Mead until 1949, and is now the residence of Dr. Zachary Gibson and his family. It is a custom for the President to give a garden party for the Faculty and Senior Class every June graduation week.

It is a tribute to Washington College that such a home is now its property and the official residence of its President. It is also a tribute to the people of Chestertown and Kent County that such a mansion exists in the town in such a fine state of preservation. It is a greater tribute to the public spirited citizens who contributed funds for the purchase and restoration. The latter was supervised by Mr. Hubbard, Mr. Henry Powell Hopkins, and Mrs. Mead.

[26] *Portrait and Biographical Record of the Eastern Shore of Maryland* (New York, 1898), pp. 343-344, gives an adequate sketch. See also *Men of Mark in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1907), I, 284-285, and general works. *The Tributes Delivered in the Court of Appeals of Maryland, December 5, 1912, to the Hon. James Alfred Pearce on the Occasion of his Retirement as Chief Judge of the Second Judicial Circuit and Member of the Court of Appeals* (Baltimore, 1912), gives a full account of his legal and judicial career.

[27] Liber S. B. # 13, f. 72-73. Mary Clementine Ringgold, was the only daughter of Senator Pearce's second marriage, to Matilda C. Ringgold, daughter of Richard W. Ringgold, a Chestertown merchant. Mary Clementine Pearce married Josias Ringgold, Jr., of Chestertown. Thus both Senator Pearce and his daughter married Ringgolds, descendants of the large family that had earlier owned the home. Since Jduge Pearce had no children, the house was bought by Mary Clementine and Josias Ringgold.

[28] Deed of October 1, 1894. Liber S. G. F., # 3, f. 30.

[29] Deed of November 5, 1904. Liber J. T. D., # 10, f. 148.

[30] Deed of December 6, 1912. Liber J. T. D., # 26, f. 506.

DR. CHARLES CARROLL—LAND SPECULATOR, 1730–1755

By R. Bruce Harley

LAND speculation in any era of American history affords a fascinating study, and the story of a Maryland physician's land dealings in the 18th century is no exception. Although Dr. Charles Carroll was not the greatest land speculator,[1] nevertheless his activity is an interesting example because of the availability of records through his letter books.[2]

The brilliant record of the Catholic branch of the Carroll family has been recounted many times, but the lesser light of the Protestant branch might well be examined. The relationship between Charles Carroll, the Attorney General, and Dr. Charles Carroll is uncertain, but it is known that the former migrated to Maryland from Ireland in 1688; and the latter, in 1715. The physician was the son of Charles, Baron of Ely-O'Carroll, which was the same family name as the Catholic branch. He received his first tract of land from Charles Carroll, the Proprietor's Attorney General; this transaction shows evidence of relationship. In fact, it may have been that the doctor had been attracted to Maryland by the presence of his relative.[3] Furthermore, both men used seals bearing the coat-of-arms of the Ely-O'Carroll family[4] and were

[1] Daniel Dulany, Sr., and Charles Carroll, the Attorney General, were the chief speculators and landholders according to totals taken from wills, rent rolls, debt books, patent records, and provincial court land records deposited in the Maryland Land Office, Annapolis. (Cited henceforth as M. L. O.). Also information was gained from the Calvert Papers and Scharf Papers deposited in the Maryland Historical Society Library, Baltimore. (Cited henceforth as M. H. S.)

[2] First installment published in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XVIII (September, 1923), 197-233, and appearing thereafter *passim*. (Cited henceforth as *Md. Hist. Mag.*)

[3] *Colonial Families of the United States of America*, ed. by George N. MacKenzie (6 vols., New York, 1907), IV, 355. Ely O'Carroll was the name of the family estate, but Dr. Carroll did not pretend to it. Dr. Carroll to Daniel O'Carroll, September 9, 1748, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXII (1927), 376.

[4] Hester D. Richardson, *Side-Lights on Maryland History* (2 vols., Baltimore, 1913), II, 56.

associated together in the Baltimore Iron Company.[5] In addition, Dr. Carroll was one of the executors in the estates of Charles, Daniel, and James Carroll.[6] This man of many affairs was for forty years a resident of Annapolis. "For some years after his coming hither, he followed the Practice of Physic, with good Success; but laying that aside, he applied himself to more extensive Schemes of Trade and Merchandize, by which he amassed a very considerable Fortune."[7]

This article will examine only his success in land speculation in western Maryland. Until 1748 when Frederick County was created, Prince George's County included all of "western Maryland."[8] Despite the unsettled condition of the border between Maryland and Pennsylvania[9] and the exposed situation of the territory beyond Fort Frederick to Indian attacks instigated by the French, several factors led to speculation by the physician and others. Paramount in the land history of Maryland was the Proprietary desire to sell as much land as possible in order to collect quit-rents, and in this region there was a vast expanse of vacant land. Necessarily that involved a larger population, and Dr. Carroll early expressed his ideas in favoring settlement of the back country,[10] and the Proprietor revealed the same sentiment in his proclamation of March 2, 1732.[11] Furthermore, land speculation

[5] Carroll-Maccubin Papers, M. H. S. Also Provincial Court Proceedings, Liber PL No. 8, 220 *et seq*, Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis. (Cited henceforth as M. H. R.)

[6] Provincial Court Land Records, Liber PI No. 6, 428, 349; Liber PL No. 8, 129, M. L. O.

[7] Obituary in *Maryland Gazette*, October 2, 1755, p. 3.

[8] Edward B. Mathews, *The Counties of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1907), p. 490. Frederick County included the present-day county of the same name plus those counties later formed and now known as Washington, Montgomery, Alleghany, Garrett, and about half of Carroll.

[9] The Mason and Dixon Line was not surveyed until several years after Carroll's death.

[10] Dr. Carroll to Governor Ogle, February 17, 1731, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XIX (1924), 291-293. Ogle did not like the doctor because of a controversy between them about the ability of the governor and the quality of his appointees, so nothing was done with this suggestion: revealed in a letter from Dr. Carroll to Thomas Brerewood, December 22, 1742, *ibid.*, XX (1925), 181.

[11] "Conditions of Plantation," *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1883—), XXVIII, 25. (Cited henceforth as *Md. Arch.*) Carroll evidently desired even more migration as is shown in a letter of June 22, 1753, to his son Charles Carroll the Barrister, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXVI (1931), 55-56. Proprietary policy during this period is found in the Calvert Papers, Nos. 52, 295½, *et passim*; John Browning to Daniel Dulany, February 14, 1748/9 and Daniel Dulany to Frederick Calvert, October 30, 1752, Dulany Papers, M. H. S. William Eddis in his *Letters from*

at any time and in any particular locality is concerned with the value of the commodity, which was on the increase after 1730.[12] The improvement of transportation facilities also made land more valuable when the Monocacy and Wright's Ferry Roads were constructed.[13]

Because of the glut on the market of tobacco after 1713, later periods of poor crops, and a policy of "mining" the soil,[14] many planters, including Dr. Carroll, developed a real estate business in the western part of Maryland either to recoup their losses or to open up new tobacco lands to be leased or sold to small farmers.[15] The operations in the west involved much money and were beyond the reach of those who lacked capital or sources of income other than that accruing from a plantation. Natural ability and influence in securing large grants were also necessary assets. Therefore, it was no coincidence that the large landholders were leaders in other fields: planters, merchants, lawyers, doctors, assemblymen, and ironmasters headed the list in this respect; Dr. Carroll was everything but a lawyer, and his son was studying for that profession!

There were no Proprietary credit facilities for buying land, but as early as 1712, Lord Baltimore realized that the lapse of time between taking out a warrant from the land office for a tract, having it surveyed and returned for the issuance of a patent made for a loophole—the division and transfer of warrants in part before completing the process. This set of circumstances materially cut the Proprietary revenue when land was held and exchanged with-

America Historical and Descriptive: Comprising Occurrences from 1769 to 1777 Inclusive (London, 1792), *passim*, records the results of the migration. This of course enhanced the value of lands held by speculators and resulted in more profits.

[12] From 1720-1730, Maryland land was worth about five shillings per acre. By 1765, the normal value of medium land was about one pound sterling per acre—an increase of 200% over the year 1725 and compares quite favorably with the original purchase price of five pounds per one hundred acres. Clarence P. Gould, *The Land System in Maryland; 1720-1765*, Johns Hopkins University *Studies in Historical and Political Science*, XXXI, No. 1 (Baltimore, 1923), 60-61.

[13] This development is told in Albert B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States* (2 vols., New York, 1909), I, p. 167; Edward T. Schultz, *The First Settlements of Germans in Maryland* (Frederick, Md., 1896), p. 6; Daniel W. Nead; *The Pennsylvania-Germans in the Settlement of Maryland* (Lancaster, Pa., 1914), pp. 46-48.

[14] Avery O. Craven, *Soil Exhaustion as a Factor in the Agricultural History of Virginia and Maryland, 1606-1860*, University of Illinois *Studies in the Social Sciences*, XIII, No. 1 (Urbana, 1925), 27-39.

[15] Curtis P. Nettels, *The Roots of American Civilization* (New York, 1946), pp. 421-423.

out the payments of quit-rents and alienation fines.[16] Lord Baltimore issued instructions against the practice, but the opposition of the provincial leaders, who were the principal speculators, was too great to overcome; consequently, even open violations of regulations were condoned.

In addition, Dr. Carroll had one other factor in his favor concerning his success in land speculation. His personal advantage lay in early concentration on his medical practice, which enabled him to build up a widespread clientele, thus opening the door for further contracts and acquaintances. Carroll tracked down by vigilant search much valuable real estate which was escheat property or property going to heirs in England. The Proprietor or the heirs, as the case might be, were only too glad to have such property taken from their hands so that they could receive returns from it.

Dr. Carroll wrote to many people to transact his land business and frequently sent his letters by messenger to ensure prompt delivery, since many of his dealings depended for their success on the several factors involved being coordinated at the proper time. Because of the press of the business enterprises in which he was engaged outside his practice, the doctor was not often in a position to conduct personally his land speculation. Usually, he instructed a trusted friend to do this for him, and we see the names of Neal O'Gullion, Peter Youngblood, Thomas Prather, Hans Waggoner, John Howard, Rev. John Thomson, Isaac Webster, Conrad Hagmire, James Gillilard, Uncle Uncles, and his younger son John Carroll occurring frequently in the correspondence concerning Frederick County holdings. Uncles seemed to be the chief agent for Dr. Carroll, judging from the frequency of the occurrence of the name. Charles Carroll the Barrister's name does not occur because he was in England a good deal of the time

[16] The quit-rent charge modified speculation in its narrower sense: securing lands at a low price and selling them at a higher one. Even with the land increasing in value, a transaction of this sort involving, for example, five thousand acres "would necessarily extend over a period of years before the land could be disposed of, and during these years the quit-rent must be met or the venture would be a failure," Gould, *op. cit.*, 61. He believes that despite the actions of the landholders and speculators, the quit-rent saved the soil from being monopolized to the exclusion of the ordinary settler, *ibid.*, 64-66. Yet Dr. Carroll patented most of his tracts before selling them. This probably was a convenience to the purchasers, since the land records show many tracts were sold before patenting, as the patent and the deed were recorded on the same date.

studying, and returned just a few months before his father died in 1755.

Instead of using the conventional Proprietary machine of allowing the land office to send warrants to the Frederick County surveyor, Dr. Carroll sent his by personal messenger. Even so, he had to put up with a great deal of bureaucratic inefficiency in the surveyor's office to complete his deals, judging by the number of complaints which he lodged with Isaac Brooke, the surveyor during most of this period. However, Carroll tried to be fair and to assume an objective viewpoint, while at the same time relying on Brooke to bear up his end of the various warrants transactions. This is brought out when Carroll for example wrote that "I hope I need not Importune you further to forward my affairs with you Since I assure you I fear to be a great looser at best with those Lands and Especially if any lapse should happen, w^ch^ I much Relye on you to prevent. . . ." [17] And again, "Your Favour herein and any other Business in your Hands will much oblige me. I hope you will put me to as little Trouble and Expense as may be . . ." [18]

Frequently, Carroll would act in behalf of others seeking land, either acting as their agent since he was acquainted with the procedure or else patenting the land in his own name and then selling it to another party immediately. Without modern means of communication, he would have to depend on the surveyor's efficiency in returning certificates of survey promptly, and if the latter were lax about it, he would receive a sharp note asking him to return the certificate, for "without a patent I cannot sell these lands to advantage, as the purchasers desire it" or "You will oblige me much by Returning inclosed Certificate of Storey Park 100 acres as soon as you can that I may get patent for it having obliged myself so to do for the person I take it up for. . . ." [19]

It would seem that Carroll relied too much on the surveyor's office in keeping account of his warrants. He knew the acreage of the warrants which he secured from the land office but did not personally make a note of how they were applied or divided, or the duration of them. In 1750, he wrote to Brooke saying, "I

[17] Dr. Carroll to Isaac Brooke, August 16, 1751, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXIV (1929), 248.

[18] Same to same, June 15, 1752, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXIV (1929), 368.

[19] Same to same, June 11, 1751; April 6, 1752, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXIV (1929), 189, 280.

would be much obliged if you would take care that none of my other small common Warrants Be out of Date. . . ." [20] and continued that reminder from time to time. For example, he wrote three years after taking out some warrants, noting that he

had a 1000as of Common Warrt. in October 1750 or 1751 of which I find no Return pray let me know where that warrt. was Located or Applyed and how much of my Warrt of 1500as dated 15th June last is Yet unexecuted as also 400as dated the 5th June and where located. I had 300as 16th Ap 1 1751 and June 11th that year 700as wch I shall be very much obliged if you will let me know how located or applyed: If any of these Warrts which bare date before the 10th June last were located on the Drafts of Hunting Creek and not executed you may return the Cert: of New London by such Warrt as well as Reads which I can at any time assign if Needfull. Pray excuse my Importuning you as my Interest is at Stake I am obliged to do it. . . .[21]

By 1754, his land business had become so heavy that he was forced to write to Brooke:

I hope you will favour me so far as to let me know what warrants are unexecuted in your Hands or the Quantity due to me which I think is considerable. It will much oblige me that you return my Certificates in your Hands as soon as possible. . . . Your Nephew when in Town was so kind as to promise that he would send me a List of my warrants and Exact Quantitys and what was applied and what was due me unapplied which I request you will put him in mind of. I find that from the 27th October 1749 I had in your Hands 10447 acres Patented I believe there are some Certificates of mine in the office now to be Patented and some in your hands to be returned. . . .[22]

Carroll used other means of transacting his business besides writing frequently to the Frederick County surveyor. At one time he even wrote to Governor Sharpe to prove that he had no resurvey warrant for a certain tract but only a warrant to survey additional land contiguous to it, and he quoted legal precedents to prove his case.[23] At another time, it took a private act of the Assembly to remedy the defects in an indenture of bargain and sale, involving Charles Carroll of Annapolis who sold a 500 acre

[20] Same to same, June 19, 1750; April 6, 1752, *Md. Hist. Mag.,* XXIII (1928), 262; *ibid.* XXIV (1929), 280.

[21] Same to same, February 24, 1753, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXVI (1931), 43-44. The warrant for 1,000 acres had been assigned to him by Daniel Dulany—memorandum, *ibid.*, XXIII (1928), 259.

[22] Same to same, April 9, 1754, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXVII (1932), 217-218.

[23] Same to Governor Sharpe, June 6, 1755, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXVII (1932), 332-333.

tract to Dr. Carroll, who sold it to John Bradford, who in turn sold it to Daniel Carroll of Marlborough.[24] Dr. Carroll knew also how to drive a sharp bargain and buy land for less than the owner wanted. In making one offer in such vein, he described a tract as "the Remoteness of the place and indifference of the land (I believe). . . ." [25]

In a letter to Isaac Webster, his methods are demonstrated even further. While writing about an expected influx of Welsh people, he says: [26]

> . . . I have now ten thousand acres of Warrant located on the Creeks called Conawago Codorus and their Draughts on Susquehanna and I am informed that I can get very near that quantity of good land thereabouts.
>
> I believe that selling it to them at twenty or twenty five pounds p hund[d] can't be thought too dear & two year for Payment at the later, & what time after it remains unpaid they to pay interest.
>
> Now for your encouragement I will allow you one-fifth Part of the neat proceeds on the said Land if you will make sale thereof & take the trouble yourself to survey and show it to the People.

Regardless of the methods employed and the volume of business, Dr. Carroll was often hard pressed for ready money. As early as 1733, circumstances forced him to include in an offer to buy two pieces of land, the condition that not being able to pay "at present" he would take a lease for four years and then pay the purchase price, the lessors being obliged to make a deed of release.[27] Twenty years later he wrote to the Barrister that "Secureing these Lands has drained me much of money and as my other Business requires the produce of my part of the Baltimore Comp[ys] Furnace and Forge Yearly disables me to Carry on this other without the Supply of[d] of seven Hund[d] Pounds p Ann. for four or five Years. . . ." [28] Presumably conditions became

[24] June 11, 1748, *Md. Arch.*, XLVI, 134-136.

[25] Dr. Carroll to James Harris, [n. d.—1742?], *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XX (1925), 265-266. On the other hand he offered to sell "Addition to Charleys Forest" consisting of 1,470 acres, because it was "only the distance from my Other Interests w[ch] Induces me to sell": letter to Rev. John Eversfield, January 19, 1743, *ibid.*, XX (1925), 373-374. He did not sell it though and finally deeded it to Nicholas Maccubin, his son-in-law, on August 8, 1748, Provincial Court Land Records, Liber EI No. 8, f. 476, M. L. O.

[26] Same to Isaac Webster, August 12, 1731, quoted in William B. Marye, "The Baltimore County 'Garrison' and the Old Garrison Roads," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XVI, (1921), 258, fn. 71.

[27] Same to Philip Smith, May 7, 1733, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XIX (1924), 393.

[28] Same to the Barrister, February 2, 1753, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXV (1930), 287.

worse, for within a month he wrote to Edward Lloyd explaining the situation and requesting a loan of £300 sterling.[29] Carroll's note of appreciation showed that his benefactor was very prompt to comply.[30]

Even though Carroll had to borrow money to finance a new project or his older son's education while waiting for returns from previous undertakings, it cannot be said that he was extravagant. Being constantly aware of small expenses and fees as a drain on his supply of ready money, he tried not to have too much correspondence concerning one deal. Quite naturally he preferred to have the transaction completed by as few messages as possible, since a note sent by messenger cost thirty shillings each time.[31] On one occasion he protested to the clerk of the land office, Edmund Jennings, that

> I have a Land Warrant for some time past in his L^dps^ Land Office to be renewed & to that purpose have applyed to y^r^ Clerk who refuses to do it unless I sign a judgment Bond or pay at the rate of ten shillings p Cent. for the Tobacco Fee. I think its forty four Pounds of Tobacco the usual Demand for such Service & I have told y^r^ Clerk that I was ready to pay the Tobacco out of my Warehouse here in Town that Instant & you are sensible that money being scarce cannot be commanded at all Times. I have no objection against paying y^r^ Fees & if you will take them in manner as above according as the Business is Done, I am ready to pay them, or if you chuse to stay till the usual Time of paying Tobacco shall be ready to pay in gross whatever shall be due but hope you'll not detain my Business insisting for every Trifle, & accordingly give Directions to y^r^ Clerks. . . .[32]

At another time the land office bureaucracy tried to enforce quit-rents for the time elapsing between the survey and the issuing of the patent. Many of the speculators were caught by this ruling,[33] for their margin of profit was greater by not paying the

[29] Same to Edward Lloyd, March 2, 1753, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXVI (1931), 45.
[30] Same to same, March 9, 1753, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXVI (1931), 46. In the latter part of the same year, Lloyd offered another sum to Carroll when the doctor thought he needed it, but due to some circumstance he did not use it. The next year, he found that he did need it and wrote to Lloyd requesting a loan of £250 "to make a Remittance to my son to enable him to remain some Time longer in London to be Called to the Bar for Practice in the Plantations. . . ." Same to same, March 9, 1754, *ibid.*, XXVII (1932), 215-216. There is no record of his obtaining the sum, but presumably he did, judging by previous incidents.
[31] Same to Isaac Brooke, August 16, 1751, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXIV (1929), 248.
[32] Same to Edmund Jennings, May 3, 1753, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXV (1930), 303.
[33] The "Land Office Accounts" in the Calvert Papers, Nos. 915, 921, 924, 925, 936, 938, 942, 954, 962 and 976, M. H. S. show this.

charge if a sale could be consummated before a patent was granted for the land. Dr. Carroll spoke for the speculators when he wrote to the rent receiver of Frederick County, John Darnall, that

> I am very willing to pay everything Justly due to the Lord Proprietor from me, but I cannot agree that the Charge of Rent or Arrears of Rent before the Date of the patent is either just or Reasonable Especially when there is no Hindrance on my part to the Issuing such Patents. The first Cost to the Proprietor the Great Charges and Fees to the Respective Officers in the Progress towards obtaining Grants is very High Rent, and ought to be Considered by his Lordships Ministers for whom this Letter is intended tho adressed to you. It does not become the expected Lenity of his Lordship's administration to Squeeze his Tenants Therefore I am in Hope the inclosed Account will not be insisted upon but that those concerned will be content to Receive the Rents from the Respective Dates of the Patent according to Covenant.[34]

This plea was not of much avail, for the "Land Office Accounts" in the *Calvert Papers* reveal that the practice was carried on as late as 1761.

Another type of practice saved the speculators money, if they could procure a certain indulgence from the officials. This consisted in paying quit-rents only for the amount of a tract actually held. This is revealed in a letter to John Ross from Dr. Carroll in which the latter, ever interested in saving money, says: "I hope it will be as You Say I am Sure many that I know have had the Indulgence (if I may Call it So) I desire. I do not Want to be exempted from paying the Rents of the Two Tracts of Land, only to be discounted out of the Whole; as Suppose the whole Tracts to amount to 6000 acres these Two containing 200 included so to pay only for 5800 When I address to you I presume it is as to the president or his Lordsp's Agent as I suppose you consult him I have desired the Favour of M[r] Howard to show you the plat of the Land & what I would have . . ." [35]

Dr. Carroll had other troubles besides those of money and certainly they must also have plagued the rest of the speculators. Prominent among these other hazards of speculation was that of accidentally drawing a line of survey so that it included a part of someone else's tract. This error would result in a great deal of litigation and expense and probably discouraged the most con-

[34] Dr. Carroll to John Darnall, April 23, 1752, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXIV (1929), 281-282.

[35] Same to John Ross, February 9, 1753, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXV (1930), 290.

fident speculator at times. Dr. Carroll's correspondence reveals his share of this type of obstacle, and the physician sums up his attitude when he wrote to Isaac Brooke that "When I wrote you my last Lre I was in Hopes that all opposition to my Surveys were at an End but I now find a new one which I did not know of . . ." [36]

Many of Carroll's controversies were with Evan Shelby and his son. In a letter to Brooke, Carroll requested that he call on Thomas Prather, a surveyor of Carroll's, to be shown the resurvey made on a tract known as "Iron Mountain" so that Brooke

> . . . may be Enabled to Return the Improvements and avoid any Cause of Quible which hereafter may be made use of By M^r Shelby or others. The Resurvey contains Reese Shelby's Improvements Viz. a Logg Cabbin 15 or 16 Acres of Cultivated Land about 40 Young Trees of Little value as allso Part of Evan Shelby's Improvements w^ch M^r Prather says you know the Particulars of. I have Great Confidence in your favour and would give you as Little Trouble as Possible But Hope you will Go. . . .[37]

The next day Carroll wrote to Brooke, saying,

> . . . As I Expect all the opposition Shelby can Give to avoid any Cause in the Least I request you will go to the Place and View the Courses and Improvements w^ch are included that you may be able to Justifie haveing made the said Resurvey according to y^r Instructions . . . I Hope for y^r Complyance as soon as Possible that the Certificate may be Returned . . .[38]

The affair dragged on however, and a year later Carroll wrote to the agent, Benjamin Tasker, wanting the patent to issue by order, payment being made according to the valuation set by Tasker.[39] For his part, Shelby was still very much in the picture and obtained a caveat against Carroll, so that the land could not be patented. Shelby did not appear for a hearing in June of 1753 and Carroll could not wait for him since he had business out of town.[40] The result was that the patent procedure was obstructed until 1759, when the Barrister finally obtained the grant, long after his father's death.[41]

In another case, Dr. Carroll had patented a tract contiguous to

[36] Same to Isaac Brooke, February 24, 1754, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXVI (1931), 43.
[37] Same to same, June 18, 1750, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXIII (1928), 261-262.
[38] Same to same, June 19, 1750, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXIII (1928), 262.
[39] Same to Benjamin Tasker, October 21, 1751, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXIV (1929), 264.
[40] Same to Thomas Jennings, June 11, 1753, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXVI (1931), 55.
[41] Rent Roll Series, Liber 34, f. 170, M. L. O.

Shelby's holdings and named it "Shelby's Misfortune."[42] A tenant on this land, Peter Stokes, claimed that Shelby had committed trespass and ejectment. The case was tried in 1753 during the March term of the provincial court and was decided on April 10. The jury found "the said Evan Shelby junior not Guilty of the Trespass and Ejectment aforesaid." Therefore it was considered by the Justices that "the said Peter Stokes, lessee of the said Charles Carroll, take nothing by his writ afd. [aforesaid] but be in mercy for his False Clamour and that the said Evan Shelby Junior go thereof without d[el]ay." Moreover, Shelby was to recover his costs from Carroll, the amount being left blank in the record.[43]

Defeated in this and obstructed in the previous controversy, Carroll fared no better in a third case. In 1753 he alleged that a member of Shelby's household had destroyed a boundary marker. He disclosed the evidence to one of his agents, Thomas Prather,[44] and to the attorney general, Henry Darnall, in which he assumed the role of spokesman for all the speculators by saying, "This being an Offence Ag[t] the common Security of every man interested in real Estates in Maryland I hope for Your Care that the offender may be punished as far as the Law will go."[45] A short time later, Carroll wrote to Samuel Beall, sheriff of Frederick County, to enclose the writ of ejectment against Shelby, which he hoped would be served "in Time and not give . . . further Occation to Complain on that Head . . ."[46] Progress on the case was reported to Prather,[47] and the next month (March, 1754) the case appeared in Frederick County court when Shelby gave his recognizance for the appearance of Frederick Hawkelberger to testify against Laetitia Shelby. In the June court of the same year, Shelby gave a recognizance of six thousand pounds of tobacco for the appearance of his wife to answer the charges against her.[48] The case

[42] Rent Roll Series, Liber 32, f. 221, M. L. O.
[43] Provincial Court Judgments, Liber E I No. 15, ff. 25-27, M. H. R.
[44] Dr. Carroll to Thomas Prather, September 29, 1753, November 10, 1753, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXVI (1931), 192-193, 196-198.
[45] Same to Henry Darnall, January 22, 1754, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXVI (1931), 240.
[46] Same to Samuel Beall, February 1, 1754, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXVI (1931), 240-241.
[47] Same to Thomas Prather, February 12, 1754, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXVI (1931), 241-242.
[48] Frederick County Court Judgments, Liber H, 311, f. 455, M. H. R.

case continued on the docket in the August court,[49] but until the next March no other steps were taken, at which time Carroll again wrote to Beall[50] that he "thought it full early to send [him] the Inclosed Warrant from the provincial office for Laying down [his] Pretentions agst Evan Shelby." The case was continued from time to time until the June court of 1758, when it was struck from the docket after fifteen continuances.[51]

These cases should not convey the thought that the physician-speculator was usually unfortunate in his court cases. They are cited in detail to demonstrate the obstacles of a large real estate dealer. Difficulties connected with boundaries, trespass, and landmarks were troublesome enough, but Dr. Carroll also had other impediments in the course of business affairs. The surveyor of Frederick County, Isaac Brooke, was not always accurate, and in 1752 Carroll was forced to write to him saying:

> Your leaving out the Expressions which I gave you in my Resurvey of Catt Tail Marsh called High Germany has thrown it into Adjacent Lands and left out the Land intended to be included. It is really impossible among many Surveys to be Exact without Expressions to bind on them how this come I don't know but hope I may mend the Error without any other Interfering with me though the Expence will be very Considerable . . .

He expressed the same thought in another letter to Brooke two months later.[52] However, these examples should not give the impression Carroll was a complainer, always involved in litigation. The large bulk of his land correspondence was concerned with every-day business matters. Many letters were sent to Brooke, giving him directions in the disposal of his own warrants[53] and of warrants assigned to him.[54] Occasionally he would admit mistakes in surveys made by his hired assistants,[55] and at least once he did not want a survey returned until he had had a chance to see the

[49] Frederick County Court Dockets, 1754, f. 71, M. H. R.

[50] Dr. Carroll to Samuel Beall, March 20, 1755, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXVII (1932), 322.

[51] Frederick County Court Judgments, Liber H, f. 1229, M. H. R.

[52] Dr. Carroll to Isaac Brooke, April 6, 1752, June 15, 1752, *Md. Hist. Mag.* XXIV (1929), 279, 367. After his father's death, Charles Carroll the Barrister had his troubles with Brooke also: letters of August 15, August 30, and November 30, 1755, *ibid.* XXXI (1936), 300, 301, 311-312.

[53] Same to same June 11, 1751, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXIV (1929), 189-190.

[54] Same to same, March 20, 1749, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXIII (1928), 255.

[55] Same to same, May 5, 1750, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXIII (1928), 253; Same to same, *ibid.*, XXVI (1931), 3.

plan of the lands.[56] Usually he would take up vacant contiguous land if his survey lacked sufficient acreage, but if he expressed the opinion that "no Land about its worth Takeing up Being in the Barrens," he could direct that he wanted "the Remainder of the Warrant for other purpose . . . ." [57]

As a rule, Carroll did not reveal his terms for sale of land by correspondence but probably instructed his agents verbally. One letter, however, remains extant to give us an insight into another phase of his business. Writing to the Rev. Jonathan Thompson he offers to sell seven thousand acres of land "all contiguous & good at £25 per 100 acres" and to give the purchaser seven years in which to repay the money at four per cent interest. When we recall that the caution money was five pounds per hundred acres, this would seem to be a tidy profit without counting the interest charges. Carroll realized that not everybody could pay such a price, so he was content to reap a return by leasing and offered alternate terms in the same letter—if the buyer or buyers could not pay the purchase price by the end of the seven years, he would give them leases for the twenty-one years following, at the rate of seventy pounds a year for seven years and £140 a year the next fourteen years, as well as a year's fine at the beginning of the leasing period. After this, the leases could be renewed for twenty-one years more, the lessees "paying a fine of 40 shill per 100 acres & 6 d an acre per year for said 21 years." Further conditions agreeable to landlord and tenant could be made at the expiration of this period, while in all cases the usual clauses of entry in case of failure of rent or arrearages were to be included. The rent was to be paid on the land at a certain place, the buildings were to be kept in good repair, and the tenants were to plant orchards. In conclusion, Carroll noted: "Said proposals shall be made by me any time within 3 years." [58]

An anticipated profit of 400% was usually surpassed. In 1736, he sold several small tracts totalling 417 acres to Henry Watson for £300.[59] In 1745, he sold three hundred acres to Hance Waggoner for sixty-six pounds.[60] Some of his transactions resulted in

[56] Same to same, May 30, 1753, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXVI (1931), 53.
[57] Same to same, March 20, 1749, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXIII (1928), 255.
[58] Same to Rev. Jonathan Thomson, [n. d.—1729?], *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XVIII (1923), 331.
[59] Prince George's County Land Records, Liber T, f. 434, M. H. R.
[60] Provincial Court Land Records, Liber E No. 8, f. 235, M. L. O.

a loss in a strictly financial way, as when Carroll sold 1,400 acres to John Bradford for only fifty pounds.[61] Actually, Carroll did not sell too many tracts during his lifetime, and it was the Barrister who received the return on the initial investment. He took over his father's affairs in 1755 before the latter's death and continued to administer them admirably, as is evidenced by his selling 525 acres to Michael Plants for £500[62] and two hundred acres to Michael Teal for £166.[63]

When one sums up Dr. Carroll's land activity, he is conscious of the part that the physician played in western Maryland history. It will be recalled that Carroll obtained his first tract of 2,400 acres from Charles Carroll, the Attorney General, on November 10, 1718, three years after his migration from Ireland.[64] After securing this initial tract in Anne Arundel County, he slowly built up his holdings there and in Baltimore County. By 1730, he had entered western Maryland as a scene of activity. Altogether he warranted there 91 tracts totalling 31,529 acres for an average of 352 acres per holding. Of that total he patented 83 tracts containing 28,480 acres. In addition he bought 13 tracts totalling 3,049 acres. Of the 96 tracts he sold 57 containing 22,781 acres.[65] Unlike those who did not belong to the ruling aristocracy, Dr. Carroll did a great deal of his speculation by paying the purchase or caution money for land and selling it at a profit because of its natural increase in value, although he did patent and sell some land on the same day. In common with other dealers, he fell into arrears on his quit-rent payments[66] because of the size of his business and the chronic shortage of hard money in a staple colony in the British mercantilistic empire.

It cannot be denied that the development undertaken on such a large scale contained a large element of risk, as is true of all speculative enterprises; however, the profits were also on a large scale when the purchasers finally paid. In regard to the question

[61] Provincial Court Land Records, Liber P L No. 8, f. 130, M. L. O.
[62] Frederick County Land Records, Liber G, f. 344, M. H. R.
[63] Frederick County Land Records, Liber G, f. 487, M. H. R.
[64] Richardson, *op. cit.*, II, 56.
[65] An outstanding example of his Baltimore County holdings was "Georgia," which was patented on July 12, 1732, for 2,368 acres. Data for his western holdings taken from Rent Roll Series 3, 4, 32, 34, 35, 36, 38, M. L. O. The Barrister sold many of the remaining 39 tracts after his father's death.
[66] Calvert Paper No. 962 M. H. S., shows various tracts in arrears from one year to nine years, eleven months.

of whether the concentration of vast areas of frontier lands in the hands of comparatviely few people hindered or hastened settlement, it can be seen that Dr. Carroll believed he was building up the colony. Perhaps he and his speculative brethren did develop the country "at a rate which might otherwise not have been possible."[67] On the other hand, the dynamic idea of the freehold concept could have built up the hinterland without the profit motive of those in political and economic power.[68]

[67] James T. Adams, *Provincial Society*, A History of American Life, III (New York, 1927), 215.

[68] Chester E. Eisinger, "The Freehold Concept in Eighteenth-Century Letters," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, third series, IV (1947), 44.

LINCOLN, CHASE, AND THE REV. DR. RICHARD FULLER

By David Rankin Barbee

AFTER examining the Lincoln Papers in the Library of Congress, the noted historian and Lincoln authority, Dr. James G. Randall, of the University of Illinois, said that "a public domain [has been opened] in which many a claim will be richly developed." It was his matured conclusion that the documents were "the stuff out of which history is built."[1] The venerable and much-beloved historian, Professor Frank Maloy Anderson, of Dartmouth College, some time later expressed the opinion, based upon a personal examination of the papers, that "the value of the collection for historians lies in the hundreds of letters written to Lincoln and in letters written to other persons and by them transmitted to Lincoln."[2]

All this is very true, especially as regards Lincoln's relations to Maryland and to Marylanders. Until these papers were opened to the public, it was not possible to write a correct account of these relations. Even now many of these documents will puzzle scholars, and have no meaning to some of them, unless they know a great deal more about Marylanders and Maryland history during the war of 1861-1865 than most of them seem to know.

One of these documents came out of Baltimore, and it can only be interpreted by the liberal use of the papers of Secretary Chase and of the files of *The Baltimore Sun.* It grew out of the riot that occurred when Massachusetts troops were attacked on the streets of Baltimore, April 19, 1861, as they were passing through the city on their way to Washington. Reading the document by itself, one would hardly connect it with that bloody incident; but so it was—and its history brings to light one of the strangest

[1] "The Historical Importance of the Lincoln Papers," by David Rankin Barbee. *New York Times* Dec. 14, 1947.
[2] *Ibid.*

friendships in our national history, that of the Ohio abolitionist, Salmon P. Chase, and a South Carolina slave-owner, who, in Baltimore, for many years filled a large space in the public eye.

Three days after the riot, the White House was visited by a group of young Baltimoreans. They handed the usher the following document, which was carried to Secretary Nicolay, and by him taken to the President:

Washington, April 22, 1861

To his Excellency,
Abraham Lincoln,
President of the United States:

Sir: At a meeting of citizens of Baltimore, and especially of five Associations, in which are represented thousands of the Christian young men of that city, the undersigned were detailed as a committee to wait upon your Excellency. We are now present, and solicit the honor of an interview. We have left our homes and business at much inconvenience, but are ready to make any sacrifice for our beloved country, and for peace.

[Signed] Rich'd Fuller, J. D. Pratt, J. Gilman, William Martin, Wm. A. Beaman, H. C. Smyser, Jno. W. Selby, Geo. W. Riston, L. A. Durding, Wm. J. Hiss, Wm. Mentzel, Thos. M. Johnson, Hiram Woods, Jr., Norman Price, Thos. H. Blick, W. W. Stover, A. A. White, Sam'l. C. Hind.[3]

The first name signed to this document was that of the Rev. Dr. Richard Fuller, perhaps the most prominent Baptist minister in the nation; surely he held that rank among Southern Baptists. For some years he had been the pastor of the Seventh Baptist Church in Baltimore. From a letter that Dr. Fuller wrote Secretary Chase, the following day, some light is thrown on the interview the Baltimoreans had with the Chief Executive.

"From President Lincoln nothing is to be hoped—except as *you* can influence him," the letter reads. "Five associations—representing thousands of our best young men—sent a delegation of thirty to Washington yesterday. I was not at their meeting, but they called & asked me to go with them as their chairman.

"We were at once & cordially received. I marked the President closely. Constitutionally genial & jovial, he is wholly inaccessible to Christian appeals—& his egotism will forever prevent him comprehending what patriotism means."[4]

At his home in Washington, the venerable correspondent of *The Baltimore Sun*, Eliab Kingman, whose authoritative dispatches

[3] Lincoln Papers, Vol. 43, MS Division, Library of Congress.
[4] S. P. Chase Papers, Vol. 44, MS Division, Library of Congress.

from the National Capital, signed "Ion," had all the influence that interviews and statements from the White House were later to have, sat mulling over the very matter that had brought Dr. Fuller and these young men to see the President.[5] From his thoughts, based upon interviews with leading men of all parties, and from his close reading of the papers, he wrote the following dispatch:

> The North seems already distrustful of the permanence of the military enthusiasm which has lately appeared among her people. Leading Republicans in New York are distressed materially at the present depression of business, and apprehend further embarassments, and now say in private letters that they want no fighting.
>
> If they are startled at the aspect of the demon of civil war which they have raised, they must endeavor to lay it. Can they induce Mr. Lincoln, at this critical moment, to recall his proclamation? The administration is neither prepared for war nor peace. They have been and are still "dealing with delusions." If they think the Confederates will "disperse" at the summons of the Federal Executive, and that they will return to their allegiance, and do all this even without a war of invasion, without burning powder or flashing steel, they are really "dealing with delusions." [6]

This was the situation into which Dr. Fuller and his young Christians moved. How they were disillusioned, the minister's letter to Secretary Chase reveals. On their return to Baltimore, they went to *The Sun* office and gave the editors a full account of what had transpired at the White House. *The Sun* alone had this story, but it was so important to the people of Maryland that two other Baltimore papers copied it. It evoked no comment, it seems, anywhere. After studying the article, I am confident that Dr. Fuller was the spokesman.

Mr. Lincoln received them very cordially—"a sort of rude familiarity—and the conversation was opened by Dr. Fuller seeking to impress upon Mr. Lincoln the vast responsibility of the position he occupied, and that upon him depended the issue of peace or war—on one hand a terrible, fratricidal conflict, and on the other peace."

[5] Eliab Kingman was born in Providence, R. I., the son of a Baptist clergyman. After graduating from Brown University, he taught in Virginia for several years and in 1822 came to Washington as the first accredited correspondent stationed at the Capital. Among the papers he represented were the *New York Commercial Advertiser*, the *Charleston Courier*, and the *New Orleans Picayune*. For a brief sketch of him see *Harper's Magazine*, Vol. 48, 227.

[6] *Baltimore Sun*, April 22, 1861.

The President listened to Dr. Fuller with patience—with the patience of a man whose mind was made up—and when the minister concluded, he asked: "But, what am I to do?"

"Why, Sir," replied Dr. Fuller, "let the country know that you are disposed to recognize the independence of the Southern States. I say nothing of Secession; recognize the fact that they have formed a government of their own, that they will never be united again with the North, and peace will instantly take the place of anxiety and suspense, and war may be averted."

"And what is to become of the revenue?" asked Mr. Lincoln. "I shall have no government—no resources." [7]

Dr. Fuller's remarks were bold talking from a Southern slave-owner to an abolition President; but where did he get the inspiration for making them? On the day of the attack on the Massachusetts troops, Governor Hicks and Mayor Brown held an anxious meeting with leading citizens of the State in the Mayor's office, and among those they sent for to counsel with was Dr. Fuller. It was known, somehow, that he had had an interview with Secretary Chase, who was supposed to be the dominating force in Lincoln's Cabinet—dominating a supposedly "weak and vacillating President." The minister had paid a hurried visit to Washington that very day to see the Secretary, and later, giving him a report of the conference at the Mayor's office, he said:

> The city is intensely exasperated, & they wished to know whether—from my interview with you—I gathered any hope of peace & reconciliation.
>
> Avoiding details, I answered affirmatively. I expressed the belief that, while the Government cannot admit the right of Secession, you would receive the acknowledged fact of the withdrawal of the States, & rather allow them to go in peace, than see the country involved in war.
>
> It is due to myself to inform you of this, & to express the hope that I have properly represented the conversation with which you were kind enough to honor me.[8]

Dr. Fuller would not have misrepresented Chase's views for all the world. They were the views of the party to which he belonged, the views of Horace Greeley and of nearly all the simon-pure Abolitionists at the moment, they were the views of General Scott, who commanded the army; but they were not Lincoln's

[7] *Ibid.*, April 27, 1861.
[8] Chase Papers, Vol. 44, April 19, 1861.

views, nor were they the views of the Republicans in the Northwestern States.

Lincoln set forth his policy more than a year before he became President. On the very day that John Brown was executed in Virginia (December 2, 1859), speaking in the Methodist church in Atchison, Kansas, and "alluding to the threats of the South [to secede], he said, with tremendous emphasis: 'If you attempt to secede, you are traitors, and we will hang you as you have hanged John Brown today.'" [9]

Entertaining such views—from which he never deviated—he was not open to any appeal that Dr. Fuller or any other Christian minister might make for peace.

Twice within the week of the conference in Mayor Brown's office, Dr. Fuller and Secretary Chase held long conferences on the troubled state of the Union. The first one took place the day after Fort Sumter fell, and was brought about by the following letter from the minister:

> The Southern & Southwestern Baptist Convention meets at Savannah in a few weeks. It represents some 600,000 constituents from all the slaveholding States. I am President of that body, & I write to ask if you can allow me a few moments conference with you, that, if possible, I may bear some thoughts or assurances to compose the intense clashing feelings I may meet, & to save the country from the impending horror of a protracted civil war. I am a native of So. Carolina, was educated in Massachusetts, & am now pastor of a large & influential church in this city.[10]

To show that he was not a nobody, but was a somebody, the eminent clergyman said: "In 1852—when there was but little danger—Mr. Webster appointed two meetings with me. My soul is now bowed down at the prospect before us, & I know your great influence with the Cabinet."

He could easily, he went on, procure letters of introduction from his friends, Edward Everett, Robert C. Winthrop, Judge [Senator Ira] Harris, and others, "but I am sure my wishes, my earnest desires to avert war & do something for the people, will be my best commendation to you." [11]

[9] John G. Nicolay Papers, Library of Congress. Letter of Senator John J. Ingalls of Kansas to Nicolay, dated: "Atchison, Kansas, Aug. 5." [No year.] Ingalls heard Lincoln make this speech.

[10] Chase Papers Vol. 40, April 15, 1861.

[11] *Ibid.* Also Lincoln Papers, Vol. 66. Letter of Senator Ira Harris to Lincoln, Jan. 12, 1862, introducing Dr. Fuller and enclosing letters from Senators Doolittle,

If Dr. Fuller had known that Chase was the only member of the Cabinet who had taken an equivocal position on the impending war, he probably would not have been so solicitous to have this interview with him, or have placed such confidence in his views. When a brother clergyman, prior to his writing this letter, told him that Chase "had proclaimed war upon the South in terms of unmitigated hostility," he had refused to believe it; he was, he told Chase, "sure this was a misunderstanding" of the Secretary's position; and believing, from what Chase had said to him, that he was a "Christian patriot, & would prefer honorable peace to a horrible war," he had conveyed that impression to the Governor and the Mayor. "As I sought you to get—if not an olive branch yet an olive leaf—I could not help expressing the hope I did—which (after all) was only my hope." [12]

Little did Dr. Fuller know that Chase was playing a deep game with the fate of the nation, to get control of the President and "run the machine." Seward, whom he disliked (it was a mutual hatred) had expressed himself strongly in favor of removing the garrison from Fort Sumter and giving the country time to cool off. So Chase took the opposite tack, and gave Lincoln a yes-and-no answer on that proposition. If war came, he could say he was on the side of peace; if peace resulted, he could tell the war-mongers that he had been on their side.[13]

Dr. Fuller's course toward slavery—and he was a large slaveholder—was an open book. "He was ag'in' it." In Washington, in 1851, in the presence of President Fillmore, Daniel Webster, Henry Clay and a large concourse, at a meeting of the American Colonization Society, he declared: "We of the South ought candidly to admit that, while slavery enriches the individual, it impoverishes the State, fostering indolence and luxury, which have always been the bane of governments." His biographer informs us that "the address met with but little favor at the South"; and that when Dr. Fuller visited his old home in Beaufort, "it was even suggested that his appearance in his old pulpit might not be a matter of pleasure to the people." This threat went unheeded, and when he entered his old pulpit, the people heard him gladly.[14]

S. G. Arnold and A. Kennedy, vouching for the high character and entire loyalty of Dr. Fuller. There is no record of this interview between Lincoln and Dr. Fuller.

[12] *Ibid.*, April 23, 1861.

[13] J. G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A Hsitory* (1890), III, 385.

[14] James H. Cuthbert, *Life of Dr. Richard D. Fuller* (1879), pp. 193, 201.

Chase could hardly understand such a forthright man. His own record, in the controversies of the 1850's, must have often disturbed his conscience. Little is it known that he was an extreme State Rights man, and that he had once been friendly to the institution of slavery.[15] The noted Marylander, Walter W. W. Bowie, of Anne Arundel County, just before Dr. Fuller met Chase and Lincoln, was writing the Secretary a friendly letter, presuming on an ancient friendship, in an effort to get from him some expression of policy that would stop the mad rush of the country into war—a war which was to blight Bowie's own life:

> You know of your own knowledge [he wrote] that this "Institution" of the South is not the terrible thing it is represented to be by malicious demagogues and shameless preachers. You studied your profession under Wirt—a slaveholder—and long lived in Washington. You saw much of slavery and I have heard *you* say that you thought, on the whole, the slave had an easier time than the owner. I was one of your scholars in the select Classical Academy over which you presided with such eminent ability that your merits for integrity, scholarship, independence of character and strict sense of impartial justice, won you the esteem of the great leaders of the then two political parties, Adams, Clay, Rush and Wirt on the one part and Jackson, Van Buren, Ingham, Key on the other. By adherence to those principles, I presume, is to be attributed the great success that has attended your career through life. Why not practice those virtues by exerting your influence to have fair justice meted out to the South and save the Union? [16]

This was exactly Dr. Fuller's idea, when he wrote Chase, giving him an account of his interview with President Lincoln. Chase must have dissented from the report of his views that Dr. Fuller made to the Governor and to the Mayor; and under the mortification of this Dr. Fuller wrote him: "I shall probably not see you any more; but, if carnage desolates the land, I will not cease to pray for you & (under God) to look to you for peace." In a postscript he adds: "Of course I shall say nothing of the letter; and no more as to our interview." [17] Chase kept no copies of his personal letters, and Dr. Fuller's papers, if they exist—and they probably are somewhere in Baltimore—would reveal the contents

[15] Andrew Johnson Papers, vol. 81, Library of Congress. Letter from Lewis D. Campbell to Johnson, Nov. 20, 1865.

[16] Chase Papers, Vol. 40, Jan. 4, 1861. For sketch of Bowie, see *The Bowies and Their Kindred*, by Walter W. Bowie, p. 199.

[17] *Ibid.*, Vol. 44, April 23, 1861.

of the Secretary's letters and what he said to the minister about their own two interviews.

But if Dr. Fuller promised to keep silent about his conversations with Chase, he put no such restrictions on himself when he talked with *The Sun* about his conference with the President, for the report goes on:

> Dr. Fuller expressed very earnestly the hope that no more troops would be ordered over the soil of his State. He remarked that Maryland had shed her blood freely in the War of Independence, that she was the first to move the adoption of the Constitution, and had only yielded her clinging attachment to the Union when the blood of her citizens had been shed by strangers on their way to a conflict with her sisters of the South.

Mr. Lincoln at once dissented from the pregnant part of this statement. He "insisted that he wanted troops only for the defense of the Capital, not for the invasion of the Southern States; 'and,' he said, 'I must have troops, and, mathematically, the necessity exists that they should come through Maryland. They can't crawl under the earth, and they can't fly over it, and mathematically they must come across it. Why, sir, those Carolinians are now crossing Virginia to come here and hang me, and what can I do?"

Waiving this aside, Dr. Fuller impressed upon him the importance of adopting a peace policy; and "Mr. Lincoln remarked that if he adopted it under the circumstances, there 'would be no Washington in that, no Jackson in that, no spunk in that!'"

Probably remembering that Jackson, when President, and faced with the Nullification issue in South Carolina, did, while making a show of resisting it, also adopt a peace policy which eventuated in removing the cause of the flareup, Dr. Fuller expressed the hope "that Mr. Lincoln would not allow 'spunk' to override patriotism."

On the question of recognizing the Confederacy, Mr. Lincoln said he doubted if he or Congress could do that. "With regard to the Government, he said 'he must run the machine as he found it."

When urged to bring no more troops through Baltimore, he replied: "Now sir, if you won't hit me, I won't hit you.

As the delegation was leaving, Mr. Lincoln said to one or two of the young men: "I'll tell you a story. You have heard of the

Irishman, who, when a fellow was cutting his throat with a dull razor, complained that he haggled it. Now if I can't have troops direct through Maryland, and must have them all the way round by water, or marched across out-of-the-way territory, I shall be haggled."

The delegation, on leaving the White House, "conferred together, and agreed on the hopelessness of their errand and the sad prospect of any good thing (coming) from such a source.

"God have mercy on us, when the government is placed in the hands of such a man!" one of the group exclaimed.[18]

Eliab Kingman, as he moved about Washington the day the young Baltimoreans visited the White House, interviewing this important politician and that one, and picking up the threads of public opinion from the many sources open to him, that night wove them into this story, which he wired *The Sun*:

> I have reason to believe that some of the most practical and influential of the Republican leaders of the Eastern and Middle States have come to the deliberate conclusion that . . . a peaceful separation from the Union of all the slave-holding States ought to be permitted and speedily provided for.
>
> If an outbreak of war on a large scale, and in or near the Capital, can be delayed for three months, a peaceful separation can and will be accomplished. The preparations made on both sides for war will aid in this consummation.[19]

One of those Kingman did not interview was the President. Public opinion in the Lincoln country was in favor of war, and the country was immediately plunged into mass murder.[20] This put an end to all intercourse between Dr. Fuller and the Secretary of the Treasury, with whom he held no further correspondence, by letter or otherwise, until 1862, when he got in financial distress through the operations of a Treasury agent. Early in January of that year he wrote Chase:

[18] *Baltimore Sun*, April 23, 1861.

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] Lyman Trumbull Papers, vols. 28, 38, and 39, Library of Congress. Letters of Horace White, editor of *The Chicago Tribune*, James C. Conkling of Springfield and State Treasurer Butler, among others. White wrote Trumbull, Dec. 30, 1860: "I take the liberty of saying that while every man I meet (Republican or Democrat) is perfectly frantic in view of the treason which is being consummated, all are cheered with the prospect of a good hearty fight on or about the 4th of March—a square knock-down and dragout . . . We live in revolutionary times, & I say God bless the revolution."

Shortly after Port Royal was taken, a gentleman who had gone with the fleet called & offered to buy my plantation there. Nothing—not all the money on earth—could induce me to *sell human beings*; so I declined.

I have just received a letter from Mr. Wayland [a Rhode Island chaplain, with whom he had had an historic controversy over slavery,] saying that my cotton is *locked* up, & the people in *want* of *shoes*, &c.

Would it be agreeable to your views, that I should send an agent to see after my interests there?

Those were the days when every man of Southern birth was suspect, and when those who lived in Baltimore were largely labeled traitors to the Union. In order to disarm such sentiment in Chase's mind, Dr. Fuller closed his letter with these words:

"I have not forgotten my intercourse with you last Spring; not ceased to pray for this unhappy land—that God's will be done, & if you believe me to be a Christian, you will know that I am, & shall be, in all things, obedient to the Government under which I live." [21]

A fortnight later, having received no reply to this humanitarian appeal, and having heard distressing news about the condition of the slaves on his plantation, he again wrote Chase about his *people.* His letter sheds light on a beautiful relation that existed on all large Southern plantations in those faroff days.

For many years [he said] I devoted myself—without salary—to the work of preaching the Gospel to those Negroes. Forgive me—as I write privately to you—for quoting from a letter received within a few days from Dr. Peck, who has gone there from Massachusetts. He is speaking of the leading man there, & says: "Jacob begs you to come on; he says 'The people will kiss the ground you tread on.'" Dr. Peck speaks of the "moral desolation," the utter demoralization there now. It must be so. Their masters & religious teachers & overseers have all gone, & the Negroes have pillaged & are pillaging wherever they can. Without a government—or rather—some organized discipline like that of the army, they will not work, except when they want food or something to gratify their senses & appetites.

Unless they be placed as once under strict regulations, they will swiftly degenerate into hordes of vagrant & forever irreclaimable outlaws. . . . My heart feels for these people, & whatever may be their future, the present is a crisis to them. You do not know them as I do.[22]

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[21] Chase Papers, Vol. 55, January 14, 1862. Dr. Wayland was President of Brown University and a noted scholar. In a letter to Senator Harris of New York, (January 8, 1862) he detailed the financial distress of Dr. Fuller, owing to the seizure of his cotton. This letter Senator Harris sent to Chase.

[22] *Ibid.*, January 9, 1862.

Even this stirring appeal did not move Chase. No word came from him for the release of Dr. Fuller's cotton, the sale of which was so necessary to care for the hundred and fifty or more Negroes on his plantation. Late in February, in a letter introducing a brother minister from Philadelphia to the Secretary, he added this postscript, which referred to the recent death of the President's little son:

"Being myself a bereaved father, I have sympathized most sincerely with Mr. & Mrs. Lincoln, & I am sure you will kindly aid me in seeking to afford her some consolation, by sending to the Mother a sermon which I take the liberty to direct to you." [23]

Had Dr. Fuller known that in that moment of agony and grief at the White House, Chase did not write one word of sympathy to the bereaved parents, he might have given a different turn to his postscript.[24]

Still no action was taken by the Treasury to have Dr. Fuller's property restored to him.

Early in June, a group of Union men in Baltimore united in sending a letter to Dr. Fuller, "thanking me for the influence I have exerted in this city during the past year," he wrote Chase. "Some of our most excellent citizens," he called them. "I value it," he said, "because we live in a country where patriotism is now very much a thing dependent on the accident of one's birth-place." Even so, he still loved his beloved Southland.

"I would be a monster [he continued] if my heart had not deeply sympathized with my suffering family & friends at the South. But the religion of Jesus teaches me the most scrupulous loyalty to the government under which I live; & it is because I have thus felt & taught, that I have exerted any influence. Nor am I without hope that I may be of some humble service at the South, when Providence shall have opened an effectual door." [25]

July came, and still Chase had not moved to do a just thing to

[23] *Ibid.*, Vol. 56, February 24, 1862.

[24] Gideon Welles was the only member of the Cabinet to write Lincoln a letter of sympathy. The Lincoln Papers show that ex-President Pierce, Bishop McIlvaine, and Gen. McClellan were the only others to do so.

[25] Chase Papers, Vol. 60, June 10, 1862. For Dr. Fuller's credo, see *The Richmond Enquirer*, April 7, 1864, quoting from a letter he had recently written to *The New York Examiner* about his love for the Southern people. This letter closes with this sentiment: "He who believes that duty to a Government requires us not to love those allied to us, dishonors the Government, and insults the most sacred ties which God and nature have hallowed."

relieve the distress of his friend. Dr. Fuller reminded him of this by writing him that "58 bales of cotton were shipped from my place—with my mark—early in May." At current prices, they were valued at about ten thousand dollars, for sea island cotton brought the highest price in the market. The very thought of having to pay taxes in Baltimore and on his property in South Carolina alarmed him. "I find myself embarrassed," he told Chase, asking him if he could not see him on his next visit to Washington.[26]

They had the meeting; and Chase told the minister that the cotton was not in his hands, but in those of the Secretary of War.

While in Washington, Dr. Fuller called on Senator Anthony Kennedy of Maryland and the celebrated lawyer, Judge J. S. Black, who had been Attorney General and Secretary of State in Buchanan's Cabinet, and told them his story. Black, who was a friend of Secretary Stanton, saw that individual and interceded for Dr. Fuller. He told Stanton what Chase had said to the minister, and got a reply which illuminates the relations that existed between members of Lincoln's Cabinet. Black immediately wrote Senator Kennedy the result of this interview, Kennedy sent the letter to Dr. Fuller, and he forwarded it to Chase.[27] This is what Black wrote:

> Having an opportunity soon after I saw you yesterday to see the Sec. of War, I talked to him about Dr. Fuller's case. He utterly denies the truth of Mr. Chase's statement that he has anything to do with it. He says that it has never been referred to his department. He knows nothing about it, & will have nothing to do with it. The whole business connected with this cotton & with all other cotton taken by the army is curious, but I have not time to say more.[28]

In forwarding this letter to Chase, with another appeal that he either release the cotton or sell it and give him the proceeds, Dr. Fuller said: "The Government taxes I must pay, & for this I may be turned, with my afflicted family, out of my house—while the Govt. has my property, has freed my negroes, is working my lands, & when some thousand dollars of my cotton has been sold, the money paid in the Treasury. Can I be mistaken when I say that *you* will not allow this?" [29]

[26] *Ibid.*, Vol. 61, July 7, 1862.
[27] *Ibid.*, July 10, 1862.
[28] *Ibid.*, July 9, 1862.
[29] *Ibid.* Postscript to letter of July 10; see footnote 27.

At last Chase was compelled to answer Dr. Fuller's pleading letters. He insisted that Stanton held the Doctor's cotton. Replying to this, while thanking him for his letter, Dr. Fuller remarked: "Mr. Stanton, however, disclaims all connection with the matter." [30]

Two more weary months passed, and finally Chase admitted that the Treasury did have Dr. Fuller's cotton. His letter reached the minister in the mountains, where he was staying with his sick family, during which time the battle of Antietam was fought. "I was near the battles of last week," he wrote Chase, "& spent some time—day and night—among the wounded."

This letter closed on a lofty note of patriotism. "All my intercourse with you would have been insincere, had I not been conscious of scrupulous loyalty to the government," he said. "My religion teaches loyalty as a high Christan duty." [31]

Late in December of that year, Chase wrote Dr. Fuller that the Treasury really had his cotton, that it had been sold, and the money was then in the hands of the Collector of Customs in New York, Hiram Barney, "doing nobody any good," and that as soon as the Secretary of War directed its payment to him, it would be made.[32] In March of the following year the minister finally got his money. "To you," he wrote Chase, "I owe the entire settlement from first to last." [33] This was a charitable statement, to say the least.

A year was to intervene before Dr. Fuller again wrote the Secretary, and this time it was a very long letter, which Chase had solicited, regarding the status and future of the Negroes in the South, and what the Federal Government should do with and for them when the war ended. The picture the minister drew of the degradation into which the negroes had fallen during the war was pathetic and disturbing. The letter is much too long to quote in full. This one paragraph must suffice:

> For years I have foreseen this state of things, & in my poor way I have pleaded with the North & with the South, but have been misunderstood and misrepresented by both. Some of my friends here sold, & advised me to sell; & I could easily have sold these people for $130,000; but

[30] *Ibid.*, Vol. 62, July 21, 1862.
[31] *Ibid.*, Vol. 63, September 26, 1862.
[32] *Ibid.*, Vol. 69, December 31, 1862.
[33] *Ibid.*, Vol. 73, March 21, 1863.

welcome any penuary rather than sell a human being. Twice, within 20 years, have I made overtures to a number of rich men at the North, & professing to hate slavery, that I would relinquish one-half their value, if they would subscribe the other half, & join me in some experiment to educate & elevate these people as freedmen; but not a single response could I procure.[34]

Chase never replied to this letter, any more than did he reply to the remarkable letter he received in 1861 from Walter W. W. Bowie.

In December, 1864, President Lincoln appointed him the Chief Justice of the United States. Dr. Fuller, among others, congratulated him warmly, saying "this appointment is only an act of justice, which reflects more honor on the President & Senate than on you."[35] Had he known how Chase and the Radicals intrigued to get the honor, he might not have been so certain that justice had anything to do with it.[36]

In the same letter, Dr. Fuller revealed that "twice I have been applied to & consulted about going South with men accredited by Mr. Lincoln." Both times he declined. "These men are only bidding for notoriety," he told Chase. "The time is not yet, but it will come, & then I may say to you, 'Who knows but thou hast come to the Kingdom for such a time as this?'"[37] When that time came, the minister and the Chief Justice answered the call together.

A week after President Lincoln's death, Dr. Fuller wrote his last letter to Chase. Some days previous to that bloody event, he had entertained the Chief Justice in his home, and they must have talked long and soberly about the reconstruction of the Southern States, now that the Confederacy was rapidly crumbling to earth.

May I not beg you to give your thought to the manner in which *true union & harmony* can be restored in this country? [he asked the Chief Justice]. Civil war has ceased—as you said it would when I saw you here. By strength the husband has overcome his spirited & mutinous wife. But how is domestic peace to be restored?

The fast day is appointed. I have never carried party politics into the

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[34] *Ibid.*, Vol. 86. Letter marked "Private & Confidential," and dated January 25, 1864.

[35] *Ibid.*, Vol. 94, December 14, 1864.

[36] The Lincoln Papers reveal the intrigues that went on among the Radicals to get Chase on the court. Lincoln held them off until Chase took the stump for his re-election. The appointment was payment for the support of the Radicals.

[37] Chase Papers, Vol. 94, December 14, 1864.

pulpit, but God & the country require that on that day I shall say: "Slavery must be regarded as obsolete." I love—have ever loved—the Union, & it must be restored without any misunderstanding as to the right of Secession. I submit to you that it ought to mitigate the asperity felt towards the South when it is considered that they acted upon a conviction of a constitutional right to secede. Are jurists unanimous on that point? Do think on this point; & if possible let me have a line from you.

Can you inform me what are President Johnson's views? I hope you have influence with him.

This remarkable correspondence of the war years ended with this sentiment: "I thank God you were spared from these assassins." [38] Not a word concerning the victim of that most foul assassination.

Chase, so far as we know, never answered this letter; and Dr. Fuller never learned how jurists thought on the question of Secession. In a few weeks the Chief Justice went on his historic vote-getting tour of the South, building his fences for the 1868 Presidential nomination, and speaking everywhere to the freedmen. Dr. Fuller accompanied him, as his invited guest, as far as South Carolina; and Whitelaw Reid, the noted Washington correspondent of *The Cincinnati Gazette*, was in the party, sharing a stateroom with the minister. Much of what Reid wrote during the early part of the tour concerned Dr. Fuller. When the party reached Port Royal, they visited Dr. Fuller's plantation. Reid describes a scene that took place in the plantation chapel there, where the minister had often preached to his *people.* The Chief Justice spoke to the Negroes, followed by others, among them their old master. Then—

Dr. Fuller rose to pronounce the benediction, and all reverently bowed their heads . . . The few words of blessing were soon said; and then came a rush to the stand, "to speak to Massa Richard." Men and women pressed forward indiscriminately; the good Doctor, in a moment, found both his hands busy, and stood, like a patriarchal shepherd, amid his flock. They pushed up against him, kissed his hands, passed their hands over his hair, crowded about, eager to get a word of recognition. "Sure, you 'member me, Massa Rich'd; I'm Tom." "Laws, Massa Rich'd, I mind ye when ye's a little 'un." "Don't ye mind, Massa Rich'd, when I used to gwine gunnin' wid ye?" . . . So the string of interrogatories and salutations stretched out.

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[38] *Ibid.*, Vol. 95, April 20, 1865. If this omission seems shocking, let it not be forgotten that Chase refused to go to Lincoln's bedside when he was sent for and recorded the fact in his diary.

This beautiful scene made a profound impression on some members of that party of Northern men. " 'I haven't liked him much,' said an officer of our cutter, standing near, whose rough-and-ready oaths had sometimes provoked a rebuke from the minister, 'but I take back every harsh thought. I'd give all I'm worth, or ever hope to be worth, to be loved by as many people as love him.' " [39] So Reid wrote.

And who wouldn't? What would we not give for a peek at Chase's thoughts on that remarkable scene?

[39] Whitelaw Reid, *After the War* (1866), p. 111.

A COMMENTARY ON CERTAIN WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS USED IN MARYLAND

By William B. Marye

THE following commentary on certain locutions in use, or until lately, in use in Maryland, more particularly in the Eleventh District of Baltimore County, was written upon making a study of Dr. Hans Kurath's *A Word Geography of the Eastern United States.** The fact that most of the words hereinafter mentioned are not taken up in the *Word Geography* is not to be considered as an adverse criticism of that work.

The Eleventh District of Baltimore County lies for the most part between the two streams or rivers known, respectively, as the Great and Little Falls of Gunpowder River, and to the natives as the Big and Little Falls. In old times this region was called the Forks of Gunpowder. Almost within the memory of man the two streams, which now unite in the mud flats opposite the site of Joppa Town, had separate mouths with a stretch of shoreline between them. The tide formerly made up the Big Falls to the Big Mills, at the first cascade, about a hundred feet above the B. & O. Railroad bridge. On the Little Falls it made up to Dieter's mill, where the former Philadelphia Road crossed the stream. Settlement of the Forks along the short stretch of tidal shoreline began as early as 1661, but the planting of the backwoods or *forest* did not start until about 1699. At present a flood of newcomers, mostly from Baltimore City, is taking possession of the older part of the district which lies between the Harford Road and the head of Gunpowder River. This self-invited invasion brings with it the elimination of landmarks and much that is

* See author's review on pp. 140-141.—Editor.

picturesque and reminiscent of the past. Along with the local charm, local pecularities of speech, also, are bound to go.

In order to be on the safe side and to avoid all suspicion of error on the part of the reader, I have, in doubtful cases, conferred with a number of my old friends and neighbors, all, like myself, natives of the Upper Falls-Kingsville neighborhood, Eleventh District, Baltimore County, and all intimately acquainted with farming, namely, Messrs. Walter Chapman, Henry Joseph Raphel, Amedee Alexis Raphel, and John Beale Howard Rumsey. For advising me as to certain word usages in Harford County I am indebted to my cousin, Dr. William S. Hall. Mr. Felix R. Sullivan, Jr., an amateur sportsman and fisherman, who has had long experience with, and has been very observant of, local peculiarities of speech in this state, particularly on the Eastern Shore, has given me most valuable advice.

BRANCH—RUN—BROOK [1]

In Maryland the use of the word *brook* is urban, literary, or poetical. Freshwater streams in the older counties of the state are commonly referred to as *branches* [2] by the natives, in case they have no special name. One says, for example, "let's go down to the branch," or "the branch overflowed the pasture field." Named streams are either this or that branch or such and such a run, and so it has been from earliest times. In tidewater Maryland *creek* means a salt-water inlet, too large to be called a gut. Short of Western Maryland I know of only three freshwater streams called *creeks*, namely, Deer Creek, Little Deer Creek, and Broad Creek, all in Harford County. In Western Maryland, including Montgomery County, we have Rock Creek, Little and Big Pipe Creeks, Double Pipe Creek, Linganore Creek, and many streams farther west which are called *creeks*. Very small streams are called *spring branches*; never *spring runs*. This seems to be true all over Maryland. This writer has read all patented Maryland land-certificates from the earliest down to 1730, or thereabouts, and a great many later land-certificates, both patented and unpatented, and has met with the word *brook* only in one solitary instance, so far as he can remember.[3] The compilers of *A Word Geography* find that *brook* is the word in use in New England, and that it is in common use in New

[1] Hans Kurath, *A Word Geography of the Eastern United States* (Ann Arbor, Univ. of Michigan Press, 1949), Figure 93.

[2] In addition to the words *run* and *branch* the county surveyors of colonial Maryland, in their reports, frequently used the word *drain* or the words a *run of water* to designate a freshwater stream.

[3] The certificate of survey of Woolsey Manor, laid out for Philip Calvert, August 18, 1664, calls for *Killinbeck Brooke*. Land Office of Maryland, Patent Records for Land, Liber VII, f. 276.

York State, in northern and north-eastern Pennsylvania, in northern and central New Jersey. Farther south its use is urban or literary. No explanation of these phenomena seems to be at hand. These ancient usages have a dignity of their own, and it is not too much to say that the person responsible for the sign on the Harford Road reading "Long Green Creek," instead of Long Green Run, has done us a disservice which is less trivial than may at first appear.

Freshwater streams called falls

Baltimore County and parts adjacent thereto seem to be the only area in the United States where there are rivers and streams called *falls*. However, not each and every stream was called a *falls*, but only certain ones. The custom came into being in the following manner: Early settlers on two estuaries of Chesapeake Bay, Patapsco River, and Gunpowder River, by way of making a distinction, called the main freshwater rivers which emptied into the heads of these tidal rivers, the *falls* of these rivers. Hence, Patapsco *Falls*, or the Main *Falls* of Patapsco; the Great and Little *Falls* of Gunpowder River, which are known to the local inhabitants as the Big Falls and the Little Falls, respectively. Jones's *Falls* are the *falls* of the North West Branch of Patapsco River;[4] Gwynn's *Falls*, the *falls* of the Middle Branch. The usage extended to Gwynn's Little Falls, an old name for Gwynn's Run, and the Western or Delaware Falls of Patapsco,[5] as the South Branch of Patapsco Falls was formerly called. With these two examples the tendency to designate as a *falls* a stream which did not empty directly into a tidal river, stopped. Winter's Run and Bynam's Run

[4] That well known tract of land, "Lunn's Lott," now in the heart of Baltimore City, was laid out for Edward Lunn of Anne Arundel County, 10 October, 1672, on the North side of Patapsco River "upon ye North West branch, beginning at a bounded hickory standing on the west side of the *ffalls* of ye sd. Branch." (Rent Roll of Baltimore County, Calvert Papers No. 883, f. 181). "Saint Mary Bourne," surveyed for George Hickson, May 20, 1669, lies "in the Northwest branch of the river [Patapsco], and "upon the Main Run of the branch." (Land Office of Maryland, Patent Records for Land, Liber XII, f. 276.) The tide formerly came up Jones's Falls to what is now the intersection of the viaduct and the Fallsway. Here were situated the lowest cascades on that stream, and here, 1711-14, Jonathan Hanson built the first mill on the "falls." The old ford on the road which became the Philadelphia Road was situated on Jones's Falls at this point. David Jones, who gave his name to the stream, lived, it is said, somewhere near this place. "Talbott's Plaines," 620 acres, surveyed for Edward Talbott, 10 January, 1688, is described in part as follows: "lieng [*sic*] in Baltemore County on the south side of the falls of Patapsco called Jones falls beginning att a bound Hickory tree being the second bounded tree of a pcll of Land of Edw. Lunns [Lunn's Lott] standing near the sd falls." (Land Office of Maryland, Unpatented Certificate No. 828, Baltimore County.)

[5] "The Northern Addition," surveyed for Philip Hammond, May 4, 1745, is described as situated "on the south side of the *Western Falls* of Patapsco River and runs to Delaware Bottom branch. (Land Office of Maryland, Patent Records for Land, Liber T. I. No. 1, f. 532.) On October 26, 1779, there was advertised for sale in the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertizer*, "Head Quarters," and other tracts of land adjoining thereto, situated in part upon the *Western* or *Delaware Falls* of Patapsco River.

were never so styled. The usual name for the Patuxent above the head of tidewater was the *freshies* of that river, in case a distinction was drawn. Readers who are unfamiliar with this part of the country should know that the rivers and streams above mentioned, owing to the structure of the rocks over which they flow, have no "falls" properly speaking. They have only cascades and rapids.

Hands, meaning workers in the field

It is no news that the use of the words *hands* or *field-hands* for workers in the field, not the owner of the land or his tenants, is very widespread in this country and customary in the South. We have no information as to how far to the north it extends. This local usage has the dignity of age behind it. John Hammond in *Leah and Rachel* (1656) gives the following advice to the would-be immigrant to Maryland or Virginia: "that he work not much in hot weather, a course we alwayes take with our new hands (as they call them) the first year they come in." [6]

In an inventory of the estates of Captain George Gouldsmith and of his widow, Mrs. Mary Boston, of Baltimore County, about 1678, I find the following item: "3 new hands 2 men and a woman." [7]

Woodchuck—groundhog—monack

Woodchuck is the word commonly used in the North. Groundhog is the regular name for the same animal in Maryland. This writer's father, who was brought up in the Northern Neck of Virginia, always said *monack*, and I have heard him affirm that until he came to live in Maryland, he knew no other word for the creature. According to *The Handbook of American Indians*, the Indian word, monack or moonack, is "the Maryland-Virginia name for the groundhog." [8] The *Handbook* cites an instance of the use of the word from Glover's account of Virginia, 1676, but an even earlier instance may be cited for Maryland. This will be found in George Alsop's *Character of the Province of Maryland* (1661).[9] *Webster's New International Dictionary*, 2nd Edition, Unabridged, gives: monack or moonack—obsolete, except dialectical U. S. Where, if anywhere, in Maryland is this word still in use?

Bloody, for bullfrog

In the eastern part of the Eleventh District of Baltimore County country boys who hunted bullfrogs, called them *bloodies*. This was my experience, and it is confirmed by Messrs, H. J. Raphel, A. A. Raphel, Rumsey and Chapman. Mr. A. A. Raphel tells me that he still uses the word. Dr. Hall,

[6] C. C. Hall (ed.), *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633-1684* (New York, 1910), p. 293.

[7] Taken by me from a volume of Inventories and Accounts (ca. 1678), Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[8] *Handbook of American Indians,* Bulletin 30, Bureau of American Ethnology, Part 1, p. 940.

[9] Hall, *op. cit.,* p. 346.

speaking for Harford County, calls bullfrogs *bloody-nouns*, a term new to us. Bloody-nouns is a nickname for bullfrogs which is common in many parts of the United States.[10] The word is imitative of the croaking of a frog. *Bloodies* is probably derived from it and may be strictly local.

Gust or thundergust

The *Century Dictionary* has: "thundergust—a thunderstorm (rare)." The *Oxford English Dictionary* gives us: "thundergust—chiefly U. S.—a strong gust of wind accompanying a thunder-storm." Until recently, *thundergust* and *gust* were not "rare" but the usual words for thunderstorm in the older counties of Maryland. High winds were neither meant nor implied, although heavy thunderstorms are uncommon without them. In my home in Baltimore County the cry "a gust is coming up" was the signal for the servants and the family to rush about and close the windows. The prediction of a *gust* cast a damper on plans for a picnic or a fishing and crabbing party at the Philadelphia Club House on Bush River, Mr. Bowerman's shore on Bird River, Pot Rocks or the Big Mills on the Big Falls. The use of these words in this sense is, if not as old as the hills, probably as ancient in Maryland as the settlement of the province. The anonymous author of *A Relation of Maryland* (1635) says respecting the climate of the colony: "The Windes are variable; from the South comes Heat, Gusts, and Thunder. . . ." [11]

In a report to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, which was read at a meeting of the Council held at Annapolis on December 21, 1761, Governor Sharpe comments in part as follows concerning the climate of Maryland: ". . . the Summers here from May till the Beginning of September are generally very hot . . . [and] during that season there are frequent Gusts or Violent Thunder Showers which commonly come from the North West and cool the Air. . . ." [12]

In his farm journal, which is now the property of the Maryland Historical Society, Judge Thomas Jones made the following entry under date of July, 1777: "Wind westerly . . . a Thunder Gust wth Rain." Under date of June, 1782, Judge Jones mentions a violent *gust* with continuous lightning.

From "A Particular Tax List of Patapsco Lower Hundred," Baltimore County, we quote the following quaint and semi-humorous use of the word thundergust: "Abraham Van Bibber—Paradice—190 acres—say 188 acres of land. A Thundergust Mill. . . . The stream [Stony Run] on which the mill is fix^{d} is quite insufficient to work her."

[10] Albert Hazen Wright and Anna Allen Wright, *The Frogs and Toads of the U. S. and Canada,* (Ithaca, N. Y.: 1942), pp. 176, 191-182, 294. Thanks are due to Mr. R. Mansueti, of the Department of Research and Education, Solomons, Maryland, for referring me to this work. I am indebted to Mr. R. V. Truitt, Director of the Department, for putting me in touch with Mr. Mansueti.

[11] Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

[12] *Archives of Maryland,* XXXII, 22.

Redbud vs. Judas tree

Both words are given as common names for *cersis canadiensis* in Sargent's *Manual of the Trees of North America.* The *Oxford Dictionary* gives *Judas tree* as the English word for the European variety, redbud as American. For the American word, redbud, it cites an example from the year 1717. This reviewer was brought up to say *Judas tree.* My neighbors, Messrs. Chapman, Rumsey and H. J. Raphel, never heard this tree called the redbud. Dr. Hall affirms the same thing. There is evidence in place-names, however, that redbud is a word which was formerly in use in this part of Maryland. *Redbud* Point and *Redbud* Neck were names of places on Delph Creek, now in the Aberdeen Proving Ground. On Chesapeake Bay in Gunpowder Neck, also in the Proving Ground, there was *Redbud* Point.[13] We must remember that a place-name may preserve a word long after that word has ceased to be used locally. Even so, in looking for a possible shift from one word area to another in times past, we may find a case such as the one here suspected to be not without value.

Yellow ned for yellow perch

Webster's New International Dictionary, has: yellow ned—the yellow perch. That yellow perch were known as yellow neds in my neighborhood of Baltimore County is confirmed by Mr. H. J. Raphel. Yellow ned was the word in regular use in Bush River, Gunpowder River, and Bird River. This writer has fished all over these rivers many years back, heard and used the word time and again. It is well known on the Eastern Shore, according to Mr. Sullivan.

Harvest home

For several generations, if not for much longer, the congregation of Saint John's Church, Kingsville, Baltimore County, has celebrated the *harvest home* by a fair and supper. It would be interesting to know if any other old parish churches, or other country churches, regularly hold fairs once a year under that name.[14] Funk and Wagnall's *New Standard*

[13] Harford County Historical Society Papers, Field Book of Thomas White, 1725-1745: "Planter's Delight" resurveyed, Oct. 9, 1734. Mr. White ran a line to the edge of the marsh on Delph [Creek], opposite to *Redbud point.* Depositions on "Jackson's Hazard," 1759, near Delf (or Delph) Creek. Depositions of Daugarty and Donavin both refer to *Redbud Neck.* (Balto. County Court Proceedings, Liber H. W. S. No. 4, Land Commissions, f. 274. "Coheirs Lott Revised," surveyed for John Hall et al., 1763: The surveyor began for "Timber Proof" on a point by a marsh at the head of Delph Creek, the said point being known as *Redbud Point.* ((Land Office of Maryland, Patented Certificate No. 1115, Baltimore County.) Delph Creek is a small tidal inlet which makes up from the Bay, between the mouth of Romney Creek and the lower end of Spesutia Narrows, in Harford County, a little below Old Woman's Point. Will of Samuel Ricketts, of Gunpowder Neck, Harford County, dated Feb. 14, 1823: testator in dividing his lands mentions a point on (Chesapeake) Bay in Gunpowder Neck, called *Redbud* Point. (Wills, Bel Air, Maryland, Liber S. R. No. 1, f. 275.)

[14] Dr. Hall knows the *harvest home* only by hearsay and Mr. Sullivan has not heard of it.

Dictionary gives: "harvest-home, a church service of thanksgiving held at harvest time."

Tidal cove for 'hollow'

Examples of this curious usage are confined, so far as I know, to Patapsco and Gunpowder Rivers. Canton *Hollow* is a cove of the Patapsco. Day's *Hollow*, Jeffry's *Hollow*, and Frenchman's *Hollow* are coves of Gunpowder River. The last named undoubtedly takes its name from the founder of the Raphel family, a French gentleman refugee from Martinique, whose name was Raphel de Lay, who bought land from the Presbury's and settled in Gunpowder Neck in 1799. I am under the impression that I have heard Ridgely's Cove, Patapsco River, called Ridgely's *Hollow*. The transfer of hollow from land to water is matched by the use of *cove* in mountain districts.

'Tea' meaning supper

Young people are not pleased when their elders use expressions which to them sound excessively quaint. In this way a word-usage which is on the wane, is speeded on its way to oblivion. When we had to hire an extra hand to plow the garden, my mother used to say that she supposed we should have to *find* him. This use of *find* for *serve with meals*, which was in accord with the best English usage, seemed to me too old fashioned to be attractive. I suppose that before my day the then younger generation discarded those obsolescent but useful words, victuals and genteel. In my day I never heard *victuals* from an educated person, except when someone remarked with a smile that R. S. V. P. meant *right smart victuals provided*. As for *genteel,* I will refrain from using the word, if someone will tell me what word has taken its place. I used to think that saying *tea* instead of supper was plain, homely, and unpleasantly "countryfied." If my Baltimore friends did not have dinner in the evening, they had supper. But in my childhood days my family almost always said *tea* and so did our neighbors. This usage has a southern flavor, is found in Virginia, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and was probably at one time common in all of the older counties of the Western Shore. Was it ever common in Philadelphia or elsewhere in the Midland Speech Area outside of Baltimore County and, perhaps, Harford?

Simlin or cymlin for squash

According to the *Century Dictionary*, simlin is "Southern and Western U. S." It is the word we commonly used in the Eleventh District of Baltimore County. Mr. Sullivan reports this word as in common use on the Eastern Shore of Maryland.

Piazza vs. porch [15]

Beating a retreat is not supposed to be a movement characteristic of Southerners, but in Maryland there seems to have been once a tendency

[15] Kurath, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 45, 49, 52; Figures 35 and 43.

on the part of certain words which now have southern associations to retire towards the south. In seeking an explanation of this phenomenon and not finding it, I am reminded of a song which was popular in the Southern army and which began: "There's too much Yankee doodle-do in Maryland, my Maryland." There is more of the same thing today but far be it from us to imply that there could be too much. One of the words which seems to have found the climes of Baltimore and Harford Counties too northern for its taste, is the word *piazza*. Some time in the past century the natives of these two counties ceased to speak of their *piazzas* and began to call them *porches*. An examination of the particular tax lists of the old subdivisions or hundreds of Harford County for the year 1798 brings to light forty-one piazzas and not a single porch. Particular tax lists of Baltimore County hundreds for the years 1798-1799 contain mention of forty-six piazzas as against three porches.[16]

Indian hen vs. skauk or skouk

Mr. Sullivan reports that the small blue heron, which is known in Baltimore County as the Indian hen, is called the skauk or skouk on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. There they have a custom which I never heard of before, namely, of cutting the bird in two and using the two parts for crab bait. In old times one seldom approached an ice-pond without flushing up an *Indian hen*.

Mountain laurel vs. ivy

Funk and Wagnall's *New Standard Dictionary* has: ivy tree—the American laurel. According to the *Word Atlas ivy* is the name for mountain laurel in some parts of Connecticut.[17] This writer's father, a Virginian, whose pecularities of speech were those of the Northern Neck, always called laurel *ivy*. This beautiful shrub, *kalmia latifolia*, is, so far as we know, everywhere called laurel or mountain laurel in Maryland today. No doubt this has been the case for a long time;[18] but there is some reason to believe that, with respect to Baltimore County, and probably elsewhere in the state, a shift from *ivy* to *laurel* took place in the eighteenth century. The first recorded name for Long Green Run is *Ivy* Run, a name which is appropriate to the beautiful deep hollow through which this stream flows to empty into the Great Falls of Gunpowder River. In the year 1749 Josephus Murray, testifying before a land commission which was held to determine the bounds of "Ely O'Carroll," proved the beginning tree of that land, a white oak, standing "in a hollow bottom

[16] The Particular Tax Lists which I examined were those of the following hundreds: Baltimore County—Patapsco Lower, Patapsco Upper, Soldiers Delight, Middle River Upper, Back River Upper, Middlesex and Gunpowder Upper; Harford County—Spesutia Lower, Harford Lower, Bush River Lower, Deer Creek Lower and Broad Creek. In the two last named I found mention of no piazzas.

[17] Kurath, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

[18] In the Particular Tax List of Patapsco Lower Hundred, ca. 1799, there is a list of the improvements at *Laurell Mills* (on Jones's Falls) belonging to Elisha Tyson.

near the foot of a high *Ivy* Hill," about two hundred yards from Jones's Falls, on a branch called Talbot's Great Horse Pasture Branch.[19] "Ely O'Carroll" lies south of Green Spring Valley, and both south and west of Jones's Falls. The stream mentioned in Josephus Murray's deposition is now called Moores Run.

Moccasin (a fish)

Moccasin is the name of a fish closely resembling the sunfish which is taken in Spesutia Narrows and Swan Creek, in Harford County. When this writer first heard of the *moccasin* years ago, he was told that it was a very large sunfish, which was caught only in the Narrows and nowhere else. That it is also taken in near-by Swan Creek is certain. For this information I am indebted to Miss Anne Isabella Hall, who has lived on Swan Creek where her family has been living for generations and who speaks from experience. Miss Hall describes the *moccasin* as differing from the ordinary sunfish in that it has a very bright orange spot on the gills. Mr. Parker Mitchell, Sr., of Perryman, Harford County, who was born on the Mulberry Point farm, at the lower entrance to the Narrows, reports as follows: "In reference to the Sun fish which were caught on Spesutia Narrows, that is true, and they were called Moccasins. They were very fine large delicious fish, very much sought after."

The ordinary sunfish is a scrap fish, full of bones, and in this writer's opinion, "very poor eating." This is another point of difference between it and the *moccasin*. Mr. R. Mansueti, of the Department of Research and Education, Solomons, Maryland, has never heard of the *moccasin* by that name and is, therefore, not in a position to identify the fish.[20] From the point of view of the *Word Geography*, the question is: does the moccasin occur elsewhere and, if so, by what other name is it known?

Lumber room

According to the *Word Geography,* lumber room (for store room) is "the Virginia Piedmont and Tidewater term, which is now current on the Eastern Shore of Virginia (but not of Maryland) and in the Valley of Virginia." It is a room used for storing "old furniture and utensils," situated in the attic or cellar.[21] Figure 33 of the *Word Geography* shows the northern limits of the use of this word by means of a dotted line which descends in a southerly direction from a point on the Pennsylvania-Maryland boundary line to the neighborhood of Harper's Ferry, and runs thence in a descending line through Western Maryland and Southern Maryland and across the Bay to the northern limits of the Eastern Shore of Virginia. Figure 52 shows by means of a sign the home of a witness who testified for the use of the expression *lumber room* north-east of Baltimore

[19] Baltimore County Court Proceedings, Land Commissions, Liber H. W. S. No. 4, f. 177.

[20] I am much indebted to Mr. Mansueti for his careful consideration of this subject and his report thereon.

[21] Kurath, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

City, in or very near this writer's own neighborhood. My family said *store room*, but my neighbor, Mr. A. A. Raphel tells me that he used to say *lumber room*. Dr. Hall reports *lumber room* as used in Harford County in his younger days. It would appear as if *lumber room* has in recent years retreated southwards in Maryland and is making a stand along the dotted line indicated in Figure 33. In my opinion the word *lumber* was formerly used in the same sense in Baltimore and Harford Counties, but the expression which we find was *lumber house,* an outbuilding; and if some houses had store-rooms which were called *lumber rooms,* as seems likely, we have no mean of finding out whether or not this is so. In our part of Maryland the store-house was generally a room in an outbuilding, namely, a room over the ice-house. In our case it was used not only for storage of broken furniture, planks, and old discarded books, but was the place where pears were set out on shelves to ripen. It seems to me very likely that before the days of ice-houses many farms in that part of Maryland had separate buildings for the storage of such things, which their owners were too prudent to destroy or throw away. Such, I believe, are the *lumber houses* which are mentioned in many particular tax lists of Baltimore and Harford Counties, dating from 1798 and 1799. In these tax lists, which may be seen at the library of the Maryland Historical Society, I find seventeen *lumber houses* mentioned as part of the improvements on farms in Harford County; twelve mentioned for Baltimore County. These tax lists are not complete for all of the different *hundreds* of these counties; for example, for Harford County Gunpowder Lower Hundred is missing.

These old particular tax lists of lands, houses, outhouses, mills, taverns, etc. situated within the various old sub-divisions called *hundreds* of these two counties, reveal other facts of interest to the word geographer. A century and a half ago *corn-house,*[22] not corn crib, was the word in common use, and *corn-house* it is today; and the solitary mention of a *corn crib* in the tax list of Soldiers Delight and Patapsco Hundreds as against multitudes of corn houses is merely a curious fact, not a symptom of change. The expression *necessary* or *necessary house* is not heard today in Maryland.[23] The word occurs four times in a Harford County particular tax list of 1799.

Lizard

Retreating words seem to leave behind stragglers in the person of natives who know them of old but more often than not refrain from using them. This writer begins to feel like one of these stragglers. One of my old neighbors tells me that the horse-drawn contraption which we called a *lizard* is now called a sled. It was V-shaped, made out of two logs or the fork of a tree, across which boards were nailed, between which rested a barrel. It was used to haul water from the branch for the "thrashing" machine, and it was fun for boys to ride on it and to help fill the barrel.

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 54.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 53, Figure 55.

Stonyhead

A name commonly used in the eastern part of the Eleventh District of Baltimore County to describe a small freshwater fish which was common in the streams of that neighborhood. The stonyhead would not take bait. Jigging or catching in a net were the only sure ways of taking this fish. Mr. H. J. Raphel has heard the stonyhead called the *stony mullet*. Dr. Hall has taken *stonyhead mullets* in Bynams Run. Mr. Mansueti identifies the stonyhead, tentatively, as a member of the sucker family, elsewhere known as the hog sucker, stonesucker or stoneroller.

Slough

A very rare word among the place-names of Maryland, of which I know of only one example. *Crossmore's Slough* is a tidal inlet of the Great Falls of Gunpowder River, which heads up near the new Philadelphia Road. It is separated from the Great Falls by a field called Little Neck and by alluvial land formerly called Day's Fishery. The Slough is obviously the old bed of the Falls, but local land records reveal the fact that the present bed dates from earliest historical times. Until 1917 the farm on both sides of the Slough belonged to the Crossmore family, hence the name by which this creek is known. In colonial times the Slough was called Little Creek. The King family preceded the Crossmores as owners of the farm, in whose time it was called Charmony Hall. At the time of the Revolution John Hammond Dorsey lived on the place in a brick house the site of which is marked by a hole in the ground.

Five fingered ivy

In my neighborhood this pretty climbing plant, which city people often mistake for poison oak, was commonly known by the above name. Rarely, if ever, was it called Virginia creeper. The *Century Dictionary* (Supplement) gives *five finger* as a local word for Virginia creeper; also *five-leafed-ivy*.

Land terrapin vs. box tortoise or box turtle

In my younger days I never heard any name but *land terrapin* for this creature, whose flattened remains are so often seen on Maryland country roads. I do not find *land terrapin* in any American dictionary, however. The time is doubtless near when the expression will be heard only from the mouth of "old farmer Hayseed," whose quaint speech will be the subject of indulgent laughter at the supper tables of Baltimoreans the evening after an excursion into the county.

Calathumpian serenade

Dr. Hans Kurath, in his *Word Geography of the Eastern United States* (p. 26) attributes the use of the word *calathump*, meaning a mock serenade, to "the New Haven Colony," and finds relics of its use on

the Delaware and on the Eastern Shore of Maryland (p. 78 and Figure 154). He finds this word in use in central Pennsylvania and on the upper James in Virginia. According to Kurath (p. 79), *tin panning* is the word for mock serenade " on both sides of the Bay " in Maryland and is " one of the few expressions confined to Maryland." Natives who used this expression were interviewed in the upper parts of Baltimore and Harford Counties (Figure 154). Apparently no one was consulted on this subject in the eastern parts of these counties. This may account for the fact that the use of the expression *calathumpian serenade* in the Eleventh District of Baltimore County was not noted. I never heard of *tin panning* until I consulted Kurath's *Word Geography*.

The calathumpian serenade was a mock concert tendered to newly wedded coples by their more or less well meaning country neighbors. Serenaders of good will were sure of forgiveness, while the malacious had the satisfaction of causing great annoyance under cover of paying a compliment. Tin pans, cow bells and horns were the musical instruments which were commonly called into play, and the serenade could be heard from a great distance. The serenaders surrounded the house where the happy pair was staying and commanded them to come forth, in case they were not already visible. Embarrassing remarks and questions were shouted at the bride. In return for the serenade the blissful couple was expected to provide refreshments for the serenaders, generally cider or beer. The calathumpian serenade was no exclusive affair. Any neighborhood ne'er-do-well might join the band, was, indeed, welcome. This writer once helped a bride and groom, who were too old for this sort of stimulation, and who didn't fancy it anyhow, to close up the house, after persuading the servants to go to bed, and decamp in the dark across fields to the home of friendly neighbors, when word was brought that a troop of serenaders, under the leadership of a habitual tippler, was assembling at " the corner " with the intention of moving on to their residence in order to give them a calathumpian. The danger was either non-existent, or the would-be serenaders were tipped off, for they never arrived.

Conclusion

Among the words which one misses today are names for good things to eat or to drink which, seemingly, are not prepared any more. Mangoes, which were tied up in cheese cloth and pickled, no longer appear on the dinner table; neither do rusks and sally lunn. Flummery seems to be forgotten along with rice-milk. Cheery bounce, that ancient Maryland home-made beverage, no longer goes to our heads, and those delightful cooling drinks, raspberry vinegar and sangaree, are probably never more served on our country porches of a hot summer afternoon. It was in 1744 that the traveler, Dr. Alexander Hamilton, was ferried across Gunpowder River from Edward Day's (Taylor's Mount) to Joppa Town, as he has noted down in his *Itinerarium*. At Joppa he fell in with the Reverend Hugh Dean, the then rector of Saint John's Parish, and they

drank a bowl (*sic*) of sangaree together.[24] A hundred and fifty years later descendants of families, members of which he had baptized, married and buried, were still drinking sangaree in the same old neighborhood. He built the house now an inn at Kingsville, and died in 1777, gone but, for a long time, not quite forgotten. My old neighbor, the late Stephen Haven Wilson, used to relate a story about him and his intimate friend, Judge Benjamin Rumsey of Joppa. Such was continuity and tradition in an old country neighborhood, which a heterogeneous invasion from Baltimore City and other causes are now engaged in destroying forever.

These good things to eat, these drinks, cooling or heating, of bygone days, will ever be associated in my mind with the fans made of peacock feathers, which used to stand in the corners of our dining room, except at meal times, when the maid used them to keep on the move the swarm of buzzing flies which, brazenly avoiding the fly-trap and the sheets of sticky-fly-paper which were set out in the kitchen, invaded the dining room by way of the butler's pantry, if they did not come in through the screenless windows. These peacock tail feathers were arranged, not fan-wise, but in a circle. The peacocks, to which they had belonged, died out before my day. Only the tail feathers survived, showing the durability of things commonly regarded as instruments of vanity:

"Where is the Pompadour now? This was the Pompadour's fan!"

[24] Carl Bridenbaugh, editor, *Gentleman's Progress. The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton 1744* (Chapel Hill, 1948), p. 5. In the *Oxford Dictionary* the earliest mention of sangaree cited is from the *Gentleman's Magazine,* Sept., 1736. The price of a quart of madeira made into sangaree as of 1770 is quoted in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* XII (1905), 188.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The Papers of Thomas Jefferson. Edited by JULIAN P. BOYD; LYMAN H. BUTTERFIELD and MINA R. BRYAN, Associate Editors. Princeton Univ. Press, 1950, 1951. Vol. 1 (1760-1776), lviii, 679 pp:; Vol. 2 (1777-1779), xxiii, 664 pp.; Vol. 3 (1779-1780), xxxiii, 672 pp. $10 per volume.

On July 4, 1951, the United States will celebrate the 175th anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence by dedicating the Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia to the nation. It should also be an occasion for national rejoicing that a great monument is being erected to its author, Thomas Jefferson. This monument, one of the great ventures in American scholarship, is the publication of the complete writings of Thomas Jefferson. More than 18,000 letters and documents written by Jefferson, and abstracts and texts of more than 25,000 addressed to him, will be included in the projected 52-volume series. These will be published at the rate of approximately four a year. The completed series will illuminate the whole course of American history from the pre-Revolutionary period, through the early Republican era and the age of rapid westward expansion.

Thomas Jefferson, more than any of his contemporaries, had a great sense of history. Living through the crowded years 1743-1826, he played not only a leading role in shaping momentous events, but he left a record of those events that is one of the great legacies to the historian of America's past.

Today, more than ever in America's history, the nation has need for an understanding of those principles upon which the American experiment rested. Thomas Jefferson remains one of their most articulate and brilliant interpreters. So far, each of the three volumes reflects a particular and outstanding contribution of his to the great experiment.

The first volume, covering the years 1760-1776, may easily prove to be the greatest of the entire series. Within this brief span Jefferson developed from an extremely able college youth with a proper concern for fiddling, dancing and fox-hunting, to a philosopher-statesman, who at thirty-two, as John Adams remarked, already possessed, " a reputation for literature, science, and a happy talent of composition." The Congress at Philadelphia made full use of this happy talent, which culminated in his drafting of the Declaration of Independence—one of the great charters of human liberty. The editors of the *Papers* have produced a remarkable documentary study of the genesis and writing of the Declaration, including publication of

what they believe to be the earliest known fragment of its composition draft.

From the triumphs at Philadelphia, Jefferson might well have embarked upon a successful political career on the national scene. Instead, as the record in Volume Two develops, he preferred to return to the red clay hills of his native Albemarle, to serve the state of Virginia in its legislature, and to bring about through legal reform the social revolution contemplated by the Declaration. Serving with his great law teacher, George Wythe, and with Edmund Pendleton as a Committee for the Revisal of the Laws of Virginia, Jefferson gradually effected through the law many of the reforms inherent in his political philosophy. It was characteristic of the man, too, that he assayed a reform not only in the content, but in the form of laws, " which, from their verbosity, their endless tautologies, their involutions of case within case, and parenthesis within parenthesis, and their multiplied efforts at certainty by *saids* and *aforesaids*, by *ors* and by *ands*, to make them more plain do really render them more perplexed and incomprehensible, not only to common readers, but to lawyers themselves."

Of the measures attempted in this period, Jefferson regarded the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom a contribution to his country of equal importance with the drafting of the Declaration of Independence and the founding of the University of Virginia. Upon reading the long list of other reforms, including the abolition of primogentiture and entails, the effort to abolish slavery, or the bill for proportioning crimes and punishments, one is impressed with the scope and vitality of this legal revolution. It was, as Jefferson said, not a deprivation of right that had previously existed, but an enlargement of it. The Bill for the more General Diffusion of Knowledge has a preamble, which for felicitous prose, and underlying and fundamental belief in the inherent worth of the individual ranks well with the statement of the inalienable rights of man. It was a considered attempt to substitute an aristocracy of intelligence and virtue for one of wealth and position.

Volume Three stands as a documentary refutation of the charge that as war governor of Virginia Jefferson was weak, cowardly and inefficient. In a sense, it is a dull volume, dealing as it does with the minutiae of the problems confronting the governor of a state threatened by land invasion on two sides, and with a hostile enemy off its shores. Here, again, Jefferson surmounted mounds of paper work—compiling militia returns; trying to support a feeble Continental currency; signing paroles; dealing with Indian uprising, privateers, Loyalists, the Board of Trade and the Board of War. The record is enhanced, however, by the human quality of the man—the kindness shown the Hessian and British prisoners quartered in Albemarle and the beginnings of two valued friendships, with James Madison and James Monroe.

In fact, one agrees with Jefferson, that " the letters of a person, especially one whose business has been chiefly transacted by letters, form the only full and genuine journal of his life, . . ." This being the case the world of Jeffersonian scholarship can look forward with pleasure to forthcoming volumes to reveal the life and philosophy of one of America's most

versatile geniuses. But to even the most unlearned there is a thrilling and not to be forgotten message from the man who ended his life with a reaffirmation of the principle to which he had pledged his life, his fortune and his sacred honor a half century before: "May it be to the world, what I believe it will be (to some parts sooner, to others later, but finally to all), the signal for arousing men to burst the chains under which monkish ignorance and superstition had persuaded them to bind themselves, and to assume the blessings and security of free government. . . ."

HELEN DUPREY BULLOCK

National Council for Historic Sites and Buildings.

Archives of Maryland. [*Volume*] *LXIV.* (Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, October, 1773, to April, 1774 (32)). Edited by ELIZABETH MERRITT. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1947. xxxiii, 462 pp. $3. (To members of the Society, $2.)

Last October the volume under review, issued with a 1947 imprint, was released to the public. The neglect which a four-year-old date line on a 64th volume will undoubtedly call forth is entirely undeserved, because the volume is not only one in that monumental set of the official records of colonial Maryland, but also has in it many items of special interest that will recommend it to the amateur as well as to the professional historian, who might properly be frightened if he had to preface his reading of this tome by a study of the 63 preceding ones. This volume, the 64th in one series and the 32nd in another, is the record of the proceedings and acts of the two final pre-Revolutionary sessions of the Maryland Assembly. As such, it tells an interesting story on its own.

In the broad view, what strikes one most forcibly about the Maryland of 1773 and 1774 is that it was by no means a colony big with revolution, but rather a state full of the problems of peace: drunkenness at Easter, game preservation, road building, poor houses, churches, education, a market in Baltimore, a lighthouse on Cape Henry, commerce, finance, building, music, art. It takes the hindsight of the historian even to read a revolutionary significance into the friendly compliance of the Maryland Assembly with Virginia's request to appoint a Committee of Correspondence. There is no single reference in these 462 pages to arms or a militia.

Of the colonial Maryland problems of peace, there are amusing parallels with our own day. It is not too much to say that Maryand in 1773 nationalized her tobacco industry. The background of this act (pp. 151-192) from the 1740's on, is not of course traced in this volume, except in the introduction, but the unsuccessful effort of one state with free and irresponsible farmers to compete in a free market with the controlled agriculture of a neighboring state is illuminating. The line between collective bargaining and socialized control was not clear even in 1773.

Another legislative problem that is fresh in the minds of a present-day

reader is a state's distribution of capital to finance labor. The Maryland Assembly of 1773 had no such high-sounding name as a Reconstruction Finance Corporation, but let anyone who doubts read the "Act for emitting Bills of Credit," pp. 242-253, if he wants to see whether the present federal government has something new under the sun.

One scarcely needs, on the occasion of a 64th volume in one of the monumental archival sets, to comment on the editorial excellence of such a work. If it is deficient in this volume, it is in such minutiae as satisfying a reader's natural curiosity in finding out whether Maryland still owns the Peale portrait of the Earl of Chatham which the State acquired in so interesting a manner in 1774; or in discovering whether the Seminary of Learning ever amounted to anything. Textually, the transcription is in the best tradition of historical scholarship: one of "Chinese faithfulness" to the manuscript. Unfortunately the best tradition of historical scholarship in textual transmission is still somewhat short of the practices current in literary scholarship,[1] else the copy-text for the statutes might have been the printed rather than the manuscript version, thus possibly sparing the reader from "Magesty" (p. 154), "forciably" (p. 183), "it shall it arise" (p. 250), etc.

Users should be warned that the extensive index is a name, place, and title affair, with almost no effort at subject indexing at all. Such cross-references as "Almshouses. See Overseer of the Alms, Poor Relief, Trustees of the Poor," "Archives. See Public Records," "Churches. See also Pews, and names of churches," "Copper. See State House," "Corporal Punishment. See Lashes," "Finance. See Accounts, Bank, Currency, Coins," and many similar ones may prove useful to anyone interested. They will, at least, serve to show some of the limitations of the index as it stands.

[The Peale portrait was acquired and still hangs in the State House. A college for the Eastern Shore (Washington College) was established in 1782, and one for the Western Shore (St. John's College) was established in 1784. "Magesty," "forciably," and "it shall it arise" were corrected to "Majesty," "forcibly," and "as it shall arise" in the printed *Laws of Maryland* (1773).—EDITOR.]

JOHN COOK WYLLIE

University of Virginia.

A Word Geography of the Eastern United States. By HANS KURATH. (Studies in American English 1.) Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1949. xi, 88 pp. + 164 figures. $4.

This work, which, in the opinion of this reviewer, is not only important but very interesting, is announced as the first of a new series of the Linguistic Publications of the University of Michigan Press, to be known

[1] For a summary of the literature, see the leading articles in "Studies in Bibliography," Volume 3, 1950.

as Studies in American English. Printed on the cover is the information that it is based "upon materials systematically collected since 1931 in the linguistic survey of the United States sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies and directed by Professor Hans Kurath. Trained observers," we are further informed, "have investigated almost every county of the Eastern States, recording on the spot the word usage, pronunciation, and grammatical forms of some 1200 representative speakers from all walks of life." With the information so gathered it has been possible "to delineate the major speech areas and subareas of the Eastern States, and to relate them to geographical and historical data."

Following the introduction and the test are 164 "figures" or full-page maps (counting as two figures 5a and 5b)—the *Word Geography* proper. Figure 1 shows what is meant by "Eastern United States." Figures 2 and 4-43 show boundaries or isoglosses for "individual regional words." Figures 44-163, by means of divers signs, show localities where certain particular words and expressions have been found to be in current use. Figure 3 shows the major speech areas of the Eastern United States, namely, the North, the Midland, and the South, the boundaries of which have been determined by means of the isoglosses of more than four hundred different words treated in the text. Figure 3 also shows six subdivisions for the North Speech Area; seven for the Midland; five for the Southern. Maryland, it seems, falls within two major speech areas, the Midland and the Southern, which are divided by a line running from the Potomac, about mid-way between Harper's Ferry and Washington, D. C., through Baltimore, to the Atlantic Ocean below Dover in Delaware.

It now becomes our duty to point out a few small and unimportant flaws in this monumental work: *Chickaree* (never, in my experience, *chickary*), as any American dictionary will tell you, is a common name for the American red squirrel. Its application to the ground squirrel or chipmunk must be ascribed, not to local usage, but to ignorance. Speaking only with authority as to local usage for the Eleventh District of Baltimore County, this reviewer feels compelled to say that he never heard any other word for the mock serenade which country people commonly tender to newly wedded couples but the word *calathumpian*; but, according to *A Word Geography*, we Baltimore Countians are supposed to have heard it called *tin-panning*. In my family we said *bonny-clabber*, never clabber or *clabbered milk*. Curds were called *curd*. On the other hand I am not a little astonished at the accuracy with which the *Word Geography* has noted as key words some of our local word usages which are not found a little farther south: We say *snake-feeder* for dragon fly, *hay mow* instead of hay loft, *corn husks* for corn shucks, *sook-sook-soockie* to cows, and *a little piece down the road*.

[See reviewer's commentary on Maryland word usage on pp. 124-136.—EDITOR.]

WILLIAM B. MARYE

The Works of Colonel John Trumbull. Artist of the American Revolution. By THEODORE SIZER. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1950. xvii, 117 pp. $5.

John Trumbull's unique position as Revolutionary officer, aide de camp to Washington, and painter extraordinary of the battle scenes of the American struggle for independence, has earned him a special place in the history of American art. As Theodore Sizer says, he has been one of "the creators of the visual symbols of an epoch."

Sizer's book, *The Works of Colonel John Trumbull*, the result of many years of research, some of which has already been published in fragmentary form, gives us the first authoritative study of the artistic production of Trumbull. This book, together with the re-publication of the artist's autobiography, which Sizer is editing, will constitute a definitive study of the life and art of Trumbull.

The present work is in the nature of a *catalogue raisonné*, useful as a reference book rather than as a study of the artist, although the introduction contains a brief biographical sketch.

The main part of the book embodies a carefully checked chronology of the works of Trumbull, a check list of his known and authentic paintings, some 46 illustrations of his most important works, and keys to the identification of the personages appearing in his historical paintings. In addition there are short sections on Trumbull's technique, his prices, and his little-known activity as an architect.

The book is attractively printed, though the quality of some of the illustrations is not good. Altogether, Sizer is to be congratulated on having accomplished so much within such a modest scope.

CHRISTOPHER GRAY

The Johns Hopkins University.

American Processional 1492-1900. Washington: National Capital Sesquicentennial Commission, 1950. 270 pp. $3.

This book is much more than a well-documented catalogue of an exhibition at the Corcoran Gallery of Art of 311 paintings and prints of American people and the major events of their past. It is a social history to which the catalogue of items and even the 200-odd illustrations are quite subordinate. As organized and written by Hermann Warner Williams, Jr. and Elizabeth McCausland the book opens with Mr. Williams' overture, *Eyes on America*, to Miss McCausland's *Processional* in six parts. Here Miss McCausland's fine prose beats out a pounding rhythm of the nation's energy in work and war and play, a prose poem far more exciting than the pictures for which it was composed. The exhibition did include a few works of art but the principle of selection was that of illustration for a pictorial record, not an art show. For this reason it is the more surprising that only one photograph was admitted. The choice of personages

and events is very broad but very nearly ignores the intensely American character of the farmhouse, the racing gig, and the clipper ship which so deeply impressed Horatio Greenough on his return from Italy. Nevertheless, there is an excellent balance between the economic and social problems on the one hand and the better known records of American wars on the other. This helps to make the book a substantial contribution to American history.

ELEANOR PATTERSON SPENCER

Goucher College.

A Short History of American Painting. By JAMES THOMAS FLEXNER. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1950. ix, 118 pp. $2.

This is a truly short history. A broad knowledge of American life and art is distilled into 110 small pages devoted largely to the work of fifty-one artists and illustrated by one example for each, only Copley appearing twice. Four are in color. The quality of reproductions is good but limited to an average scale of about three by four inches.

The author has avoided the danger of boiling history down to the bare facts and dates. His previous books, especially *America's Old Masters*, prove him to be a warm and lively narrator able to bring to life the human being behind the painting, thus helping us to establish an intimacy with the pictures. This talent is given less scope in his new volume which makes two main contributions. The first is as a primer for those who are now beginning to explore our own artistic heritage and contemporary painting. Since it is also published in a truly inexpensive paper-bound edition, it should introduce many to a new interest. Secondly, it will help those whose experience is scattered between separate periods and styles to fit them into a single drama which here unfolds at a sitting against its background of history and changing culture.

The author's major thesis is one which combats two of the most persistent prejudices standing in the way of a fuller appreciation of American art. He finds that artists and public alike fall into three groups, and that the best, Stuart, Innes, and Prendergast, for instance, are among those who are neither overwhelmed by the authority of European tradition and a sense of national inferiority, nor are made to reject invaluable sources of culture and technical skill by an excessive local pride. America's struggle to learn what Europe had to teach while applying that knowledge without prejudice to a true expression of her own life is the unifying dramatic theme of the book.

MICHAEL H. MURRAY

The Johns Hopkins University.

Commerce and Conquest in East Africa. By CYRUS TOWNSEND BRADY, JR. Salem: The Essex Institute, 1950. xxi, 245 pp. $3.50.

During the early years of the 19th century sailing vessels out of Salem, Massachusetts, trading with the Azores and the Mediterranean, Mauritius and Bombay, with Sumatra for pepper and Canton for tea, made the port one of the most important communities in the United States. "The citizens of this little town," wrote one of her historians, "were dispatched to every port of the Oriental world, and to every nook of barbarism which had a market and a shore." This volume gives particular reference to the Salem trade with Zanzibar.

The Salem trade with Zanzibar began in 1826 just as Salem, owing to the competition of steam boats, the rising port of New York, and the lack of a suitable export, began to decline in importance as a major American port. The East African trade of Salem, carried chiefly in sailing vessels, lasted throughout most of the nineteenth century. Cloves and coconut products, ivory and miscellaneous items, in this order, were the chief imports; while cotton textiles constituted the bulk of the exports. So prominent was American cotton cloth in East Africa that the cloth, calico, was and is still known as "amerikani."

This interesting and informative volume first cursorily traces the historical pattern of occidental trade with Zanzibar, concentrating on the American; then the author examines the trade and commerce conducted by Zanzibar merchants, Arabs, throughout Africa. In doing this he relates many interesting tales and sympathetic personal observations of life and activities in Africa. He acquaints the reader, for example, with the career of Charles Chaillé Long, a Marylander, who rose from private to captain of the 11th Maryland Volunteers in the Civil War and who ended his career as an important African explorer, a Colonel and Bey in the service of the Khedive of Egypt.

Cyrus Townsend Brady, Jr., a civil engineer by profession, a camera enthusiast and writer by avocation, has presented the vast army of armchair admirals and explorers an exciting account of *Commerce and Conquest in East Africa* from classical antiquity to the present day.

RICHARD LOWITT

University of Maryland.

Famous American Marines. By CHARLES LEE LEWIS. Boston: L. C. Page, 1950. xxi, 375 pp. $3.75.

The author of this volume is no newcomer to the field of biography and to military biography in particular. Charles Lee Lewis, longtime professor of English and History at the United States Naval Academy, has written excellent biographies of Farragut, Decatur, Maury, Franklin Buchanan, and De Grasse, and he published in the mid-20's *Famous American Naval Officers.* He is eminently familiar with the raw materials which go into the making of good biographies.

Famous American Marines is a volume of brief sketches of eighteen Marines ranging from Samuel Nicholas of Revolutionary War fame to Vandegrift, " Howlin' Mad " Smith, and Roy S. Geiger of World War II renown. Each sketch is complete in itself and may, therefore, be read independently if desired, or something of a general history of the Marine Corps may be obtained from a complete reading of all eighteen sketches. For those sketches Professor Lewis has drawn his material from a variety of sources, both primary and secondary, and that he has been skillful in presenting an accurate and vivid portrait of each Marine is constantly obvious.

This is not a profound study requiring that the reader be an expert in either military history or even in American history. Much of the information deals with blood and thunder, or the " above the call of duty " themes, or " my country, right or wrong " events. Rarely is the author critical of his subjects who usually triumph over a dastardly adversary and emerge heroes and defenders of " Old Glory " and all of her wonderful attributes. Although anyone may read this volume with profit, surely those who will enjoy it most will be the growing adolescents who long to pattern their own careers after some genuine, red-blooded American hero. This is by no means meant to be a criticism of Professor Lewis' achievement; rather should he be praised for providing us with this historical material which would be virtually inaccessible elsewhere.

The volume contains pen sketches of each Marine, a short bibliography, and a useful index. Of particular value is an introductory sketch outlining in brief detail the origin of the Marines as a fighting force.

ROBERT M. LANGDON

U. S. Naval Academy.

The Sheet Iron Steamboat CODORUS. *John Elgar and the First Metal Hull Vessel Built in the United States.* By ALEXANDER CROSBY BROWN. (Museum Publication No. 21. Extract from *The American Neptune*, Vol. X, No. 3, July, 1950.) Newport News, Va.: The Mariner's Museum, 1950. 30 pp. $.75.

The absorbing pastime of claiming historic " firsts " is indulged in agreeably and convincingly in this account of America's first sheet iron steam boat and the man who built it. John Elgar, who designed the *Codorus* for use on the Susquehanna, gained some local reputation but was soon nearly forgotten. For decades others have been credited with constructing the first iron-hulled boat in America. Good use of source materials helps this attractive pamphlet to achieve the aim of placing the *Codorus* in its proper historical perspective.

William Shippen, Jr., Pioneer in American Medical Education, A Biographical Essay. With Notes, and the Original Text of Shippen's Student Diary, London, 1759-1760; together with a translation of his Edinburgh Dissertation, 1761. By BETSY COPPING CORNER. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1951. xi, 161 pp. $2.75.

Mrs. Corner begins this attractive volume by a brief discussion "introducing William Shippen, Jr." as the first medical lecturer in what is now the United States, and noting the circumstances under which Dr. J. Hall Pleasants of Baltimore discovered some years ago the long-lost diary of Shippen's student days in London (1759, 1760). The diary is then printed in full, with detailed expanatory notes, to which Mrs. Corner adds a biography (divided topically into eight brief chapters), and Dr. George W. Corner appends a translation of Shippen's Edinburgh doctoral thesis of 1761. Dr. Shippen's discourse of 1790 on medical education is also appended.

This somewhat unusual arrangement of materials proves highly effective, since Shippen's brief entries in the diary only serve to arouse curiosity, which Mrs. Corner then satisfies both by thorough notes and by the charming and scholarly biographical chapters which follow. The latter bring to life the varied background of contemporary London and Philadelphia, against which Shippen moved and had his being. Little had been brought together before about Shippen, in contrast to the knowledge available concerning his less reticent colleagues John Morgan and Benjamin Rush. Hence we are indebted here to Mrs. Corner, not only for a most readable narrative, but also for a study which enlarges our understanding of American medicine during the later eighteenth century. Particularly significant is the account of Shippen's major professional achievement—the introduction into this country of serious instruction in anatomy and obstetrics.

RICHARD H. SHRYOCK

The Johns Hopkins University.

Lincoln and the Press. By ROBERT S. HARPER. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1951. xii, 418 pp. $6.

Mr. Harper tells how Abraham Lincoln handled the press and "how the press reacted to him from the day he became a voice in politics until the shot was fired that martyred him." In the Jeffersonian tradition Lincoln would rather have let the hostile journals stand as a monument to the safety with which error might be tolerated when reason stood free to combat it; but in years of passion the President felt obliged to resort to arbitrary measures to preserve the Union. Censorship operated against those suspected of disturbing the public welfare by word and deed; it left

large sections of the community free to criticize civil authorities. Unionist newspapers might reveal military moves; corrosive criticism from Copperhead journals might damage the war effort. Trifling or grave, sins against the common defence frequently placed editors behind bars.

Harper has drawn on secondary sources, newspaper files, and letters presented to the Library of Congress by Robert Todd Lincoln. Lincoln provides the primary portrait as well as the narrative thread. His seems largely a newspaper personality, for the reader sees him through the barrage of conflicting editorials. Harper draws brief but bold sketches of the leading editors in the North. Representative of border state neutralism, George D. Prentice of the *Louisville Journal* belongs to the limbo of unreal causes. The Belials of peace Democracy play on popular dissatisfactions to make the worst appear the better reason. Except for "Parson" Brownlow and Samuel Bowles, most editors supporting the administration seem obtuse when compared with their Copperhead rivals. Since few Republican journalists understood the President, Harper reveals another aspect of the lonely statesman. He succeeds in showing how a hate-inspired press played a part in shaping Booth's bullet; but once it was fired the newspaper world became one in grief. To friend and foe Lincoln alive had been an object of the condescension and defamation; Lincoln dead became the subject of their pious utterances.

Harper presents the rhetoric of Civil War editors against his own neutral style. By skillful selection he highlights double-dealing and the weakness of good intentions. He plunges the reader at once into the action. In the current of events one learns about the techniques of reporting in an age that loved oratory and the tricks of finding a story in a time before the news conference.

Much could have been compressed or omitted. Sometimes the narrative seems lost among the editors and hoaxes. It needs to move below the catch-as-catch-can ring to win a broader range of motivation. The manuscript collections of some of the leading editors and public men might have been used for this purpose. By confining his study exclusively to the war Harper neglects editorial attitudes on reconstruction, monetary problem, and sectionalism in the North. The increase in immigration, the expansion of industry, agriculture, and railroads were important factors in its triumph. They helped to form the total picture of the Civil War. They find no space in *Lincoln and the Press*.

Harper has written an excellent book. Its tone never sinks below forte; its tempo is allegro. One arrives at the last page having spent a season in one of Hell's estates; here everyone yells at the same time, and all is hurly-burly.

William Quentin Maxwell

The Muhlenbergs of Pennsylvania. By PAUL A. W. WALLACE. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1950. 358 pp. $4.

Seven Muhlenbergs were distinguished enough to be included in the *Dictionary of American Biography.* No other German immigrant family in the Middle Atlantic states has produced such an abundance of prominent men. Very justifiedly the author dwells at length on the career of the immigrant, the patriarch of the family, the organizer of the Lutheran Church in the American colonies: Henry Melchior Muhlenberg (1711-1787). The biographies of most of his descendants center around the Lutheran church, yet their activities then branch out into all realms of public life, especially into the army, politics and scholarly pursuits. Paul Wallace evaluates the careers of the second generation, *i. e.* John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg, the general; Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, the first Speaker in the House of the Federal Congress; Gotthilf Henry Ernest Muhlenberg, the eminent botanist and first president of Franklin College. It is to be regretted that the author interrupts his narrative in the first decade of the nineteenth century. It would have been worthwhile to follow up the family history through the nineteenth century. As patriarch of the Lutheran Church, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg was repeatedly called into the first Lutheran congregations in Western Maryland; thus the book has a special interest for the Maryland historian. Though not exhaustive, it is a very readable story of one of the most interesting and public-minded families in 18th century America.

DIETER CUNZ

University of Maryland.

Pennsylvania's Susquehanna. By ELSIE SINGMASTER. Harrisburg, Pa.: J. Horace McFarland Co., 1950. xiv, 236 pp. $6.

Down the years of recorded history the Susquehanna has posed a challenge to mankind. The Indians met it by producing the Susquehannocks ("such great and well-proportioned men," writes Captain John Smith, "are seldom seene, for they seemed like Giants to the English, yea and to the neighbours, yet seemed of an honest and simple disposition"). The white settlers rose to the occasion with heroic figures like Thomas Cresap, who opened the way for the men who developed the magnificent farmlands of the lower valley and released the coal of the North. To bridge the stream, the leading engineers of their day outdid themselves. The mere sound of its name stirred poets and writers to the depths. "When I had asked the name of the river," said Robert Louis Stevenson, who crossed it in an emigrant train in 1879, "and heard it was called the Susquehanna, the beauty of the name seemed to be part and parcel of the beauty of the land. As when Adam with divine fitness named the creatures, so this word Susquehanna was accepted by the fancy. That was the name, as no other could be, for that shining and desirable valley."

All this, and much more, has been recorded with feeling and beauty by Mrs. E. S. Lewars in her recent book *Pennsylvania's Susquehanna.* Better known to the national audience by her maiden name, Elsie Singmaster, she has achieved eminence as a novelist and recorder of Pennsylvania-German folklore, and last year was granted distinguished honors for her quiet effectual work in leavening the political and sociological lump. Through these activities she has come to know Pennsylvania as do few others, and, with her artist's sensitiveness, she is fully equipped to write the great river's saga. Few readers of the book will agree with her appraisal of it as " primarily a collection of photographs "; it can certainly be said, however, that seldom is an author so well served by her illustrators. Particularly fine are the studies of regional flora by the McFarlands of Harrisburg.

Mrs. Lewars' stirring chronicle comes to an end at Mason and Dixon's Line, to the sorrow of those Marylanders who feel that the Susquehanna's grandeur reaches its climax in the last few miles of its course, just before its union with Chesapeake Bay. She would have invested with fresh scholarship and poetry the wild and rocky reaches below Conowingo Bridge, or the impounded lake upstream, beneath which the great rocks, scored with mysterious Indian symbols, await release through the careless twitch of an earthquake or the rollicking jolt of an atomic bomb.

J. Gilman D'Arcy Paul

The Forty-Eighters. Edited by A. E. Zucker. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1950. xviii, 379 pp. $4.50.

With the persecutions that followed the German Revolution of 1848, several thousand of the participants fled to the United States to continue their quest for freedom. To commemorate the centennial of their arrival in this country, eleven scholars have joined in this study of the role of these refugees in the development of the United States.

The book is concerned with tracing the European backgrounds and the American experiences of this outstanding group of German-Americans. That *The Forty-Eighters* does not add greatly to historical knowledge is more than offset by the fact that these extremely readable essays are replete with interesting and vital observations on the adjustment of these immigrants to American society. The value of this volume is enhanced by the editor's compilation of short biographies of over 300 Forty-eighters.

Excellent as are most of its component parts, the work as a whole could have undergone a better job of editing. Repetitions occur far too often due to the inadequate correlation of the materials presented by the various contributors. In general, the book is free from factual inaccuracies. However, two glaring errors are to be found in the essay on Carl Schurz by Bayard Morgan. Historians will be interested to discover that Stephen Douglas " was the avowed and uncompromising champion of the slave system (p. 231)," and that Andrew Johnson began his Presidential

tenure as a supporter of Lincoln's reconstruction plan only to shift to a radically different program within a few months (pp. 237-8). Despite these drawbacks, this volume represents an interpretive synthesis that must be read by those who would understand completely American history in the second half of the 19th century.

DONALD R. MCCOY

The American University.

James Harrod of Kentucky. By KATHRYN HARROD MASON. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1951. xxii, 266 pp. $4.

This biography of one of the earliest pioneers in Kentucky, for whom its first permanent white settlement, Harrodsburg, was named, is the biography of a type as well as of a man. Mr. Benét has said it neatly: "The cowards never started and the weak died on the road. . . ." James Harrod of Kentucky—originally James Harrod of Virginia and Pennsylvania—was a soldier, hunter, surveyor, member of the Virginia Assembly as well as of his frontier councils. Obviously there was much more ahead of him. Then at 48 he took another hunting trip—hunting too for the legendary Swift's Silver Mine—and he never returned. He may have been murdered or killed by the Indians; there was a chance he had chosen to disappear; but no one ever knew. The mystery of his death was as great as his life's achievement.

Mrs. Mason in this book, one of the excellent Southern Biography Series, has successfully overcome the circumstances of kinship (which has always the defects of its virtues) and lack of personalized material. The Kentucky pioneer was not one to take his pen in hand. Her research has been careful and extensive and she has written her book interestingly, with clarity and suspense and no sentimentality.

ELLEN HART SMITH

The Manor of Fordham and Its Founder. By HARRY C. W. MELICK. New York: Fordham Univ. Press, 1950. xx, 191 pp. $4.

According to the author's preface this study is a narrative of additions to and corrections of previous manor histories. The author cites much neglected source material, often incorporating whole sections of original records. Mr. Melick succeeds in identifying John Archer, the founder and lord of Fordham manor, and piecing together his history from contemporary documents, Dutch and English, with all their variant spellings of his name. He recounts the early difficulties faced by Archer, principally those involving various claims to the land, and later the disposition of the manor. Leaning heavily on the records of legal entanglements, historically important if tedious reading, Mr. Melick adds facts to theory. While the importance of this book as a contribution to the history of a geographically important area cannot be overlooked, its chief value probably lies in its presentation of source materials.

CATHERINE M. SHELLEY

A New Home for the Sunpapers of Baltimore, Containing a Brief History of the Past 114 Years and a Description of the Modern Production Equipment in the New Plant. Baltimore: [The Sunpapers], 1951. 63 pp.

To commemorate the opening of the new building at Calvert and Centre streets, the Sunpapers recently published this handsome little volume. The history of a great local and national newspaper from its origin as a penny sheet in 1837 to the present is succinctly told. The new building and equipment are described graphically. Noteworthy in this very satisfactory notice of the passing of a milestone in newspaper history are the photographs and illustrations and a Yardley map showing the five locations where the Sunpapers have been published.

Swaine and Drage. A Sequel to Map Maker and Indian Traders. By Howard N. Eavenson. Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 1950. 23 pp. (Distributed without charge to purchasers of *Map Maker and Indian Traders.*)

However conscientious and thorough a scholar attempts to be, he may discover significant source material only days after the publication of a monograph to which he has devoted years of preparation. Such was Mr. Eavenson's experience following the publication in 1949 of *Map Maker and Indian Traders* (reviewed by Lloyd A. Brown in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLV [June, 1950], 143-144). Fortunately, the University of Pittsburgh Press has solved the problem by publishing in this small pamphlet the author's account of the discovery in England of a letter written by Theodorus Swaine Drage and a critical edition of the letter.

Golden Days. By A. W. W. Woodcock. Salisbury, Md.: Privately printed, 1951. 244 pp. $2.

General Woodcock is spending his leisure in a most useful and entertaining way by writing the experience of his varied and fruitful life. He has been a teacher, a successful lawyer, so successful a United States district attorney that President Hoover appointed him Prohibition Administrator, and for a time president of St. John's College, his alma mater.

All of these are vocations, but in his avocation of citizen soldier he was just as outstanding because he worked with the same will, earnestness, and desire to serve. *Golden Days* is the story of soldiering from the "third battle" of Bull Run (1904) to the triumphal return in 1919 of the experienced soldiers of the Maryland National Guard from their distinguished service in France during World War I. In these pages the author has woven an engaging story of a wide range of personalities in the First Regiment and the entire Maryland National Guard. His telling about a funny incident, a ribald conversation, an occasion of pathos and sentiment

is done well in a generous, smooth-running style that makes putting the book down difficult.

The volume, a work of love, takes its place without apology among the many regional histories of Maryland's important organizations and identifies its versatile author as accomplished in another field—that of entertaining raconteur.

CARLYLE R. EARP

Baltimore and Early Pan-Americanism. A Study in the Background of the Monroe Doctrine. By LAURA BORNHOLDT. (Smith College Studies in History, Vol. XXXIV.) Northampton, Mass.: Smith College, 1949. vii, 152 pp. $2.

As a commercial, cosmopolitan, and liberal city in the early decades of the 19th century, it was natural that Baltimore should have played a prominent part in the Hispanic American movement for independence and early Pan-Americanism. Public opinion, insofar as it was formed, was sympathetic toward the political aspirations of our southern neighbors, and Baltimoreans hoped to gain a share of the Spanish American commercial inheritance from Spain.

Baltimoreans did not confine their hopes and activities to legitimate channels, however. In the face of the neutrality laws of the United States, they welcomed and gave comfort to agents from rebellious Spanish America, propogandized their story, provided them with funds, ships, and materiel, and outfitted privateers which were supposed to prey upon Spanish commerce, but which were not always so discriminate.

In this scholarly and well-written volume, the author has developed these and many more facets of this romantic and significant story of Baltimore and early Pan-Americanism. All are well integrated with the larger pictures of the domestic and international scene. One might hope for similar studies of other Atlantic seaboard cities on this subject.

JAMES S. CUNNINGHAM

Goucher College.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

A History of the Society of the Maryland Society of Colonial Dames of America. Compiled by MARY F. PRINGLE FENHAGEN. [Baltimore: 1951.] 48 pp.

A Plan for Peace. By GRENVILLE CLARK. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950. 83 pp.

NOTES AND QUERIES

NEW LIGHT ON WILLIAM BUCKLAND

By James Bordley, Jr.

There is a tradition in Annapolis that many of its fine Colonial homes were designed and built by William Buckland who was brought from England in 1755 to design and build Gunston Hall, the beautiful home of George Mason in Virginia. Buckland moved from Virginia to Annapolis in 1771 and lived there until his death in 1774. An entry in the account book of the executor of Edward Lloyd, 3rd, shows that Buckland was transacting business in Maryland before his removal to Annapolis. The entry referred to is the payment to Buckland on November 1, 1771, by Colonel Lloyd's executors: "To Sundrys Bot at Vendue 1/14/8 1/2." Colonel Lloyd died on January 20, 1770.

The Buckland tradition was given emphasis by R. T. H. Halsey in the Foreword of the first volume of *Great Georgian Houses in America* (New York, 1933-1937) where he attributed to Buckland the Chase, Hammond-Harwood, Brice, Paca, Ridout, and Scott homes in Annapolis and Whitehall in the nearby country. Mr. Halsey's attributions were not based on documentary evidence but upon the architectural books in Buckland's library and the similarity of unusual architectural features in Gunston Hall, the Annapolis homes, and Honington Hall, an English home some twenty miles from Oxford where Buckland spent his early life. He suggested it possible Buckland helped in the redecoration of Honington Hall between 1750 and 1755. The similarities are striking, but it is difficult to believe that in his three years residence in Annapolis Buckland could have designed and built all of the houses attributed to him.

Mr. J. Donnell Tilghman presented through the *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XXXIII (1938), 23-26, the cost account of Samuel Chase in the building of the Chase House. This account is itemized, and in no entry of expense is Buckland mentioned. It is interesting that Mr. Chase (like George Mason) imported a builder from London, a Mr. Scott, who kept a book of costs, both labor and materials. It can be assumed Mr. Chase sought the services of a "master builder" to design and build his home, hence the importation of Mr. Scott who, as the account shows, worked on the building for the two years Mr. Chase financed the operations. Mr. Tilghman concluded that Mr. Chase built his home and sold it before the interior was decorated. In this conclusion the account books of Edward Lloyd, 4th, show him to be entirely correct.

Mr. Chase sold the house in July, 1771, to Edward Lloyd, 4th, for "Five Hundred and Four Pounds, Sterling of Great Britain and Two

Thousand, Four Hundred and Ninety-one Pounds, Seventeen Shillings and Seven Pence, Current." On the sale he made a profit of £250.

Through the courtesy of Mrs. Henry Morgan (Elizabeth Lloyd) Schiller, the present mistress of Wye House, her ancestral home, this writer was given an opportunity to inspect the "Memorandum Book" and ledger, recently found, of her ancestor, Col. Edward Lloyd, 4th. The entries of indebtedness to Buckland clearly show his activities in the decoration of the Chase House and the cost of the work to Col. Lloyd. The entries are spread through the years 1771-1774. The first entry is for work and materials from December 22, 1771, to July 1, 1772; the last entry for Buckland shows cash paid "to Tracey Garland P[er] order [£] 6" on March 12, 1774. When the latter payment was made it is clear from other entries that Colonel Lloyd was occupying the house. The entries total the sum of 509/4/6 Sterling of which Colonel Lloyd had paid Buckland by April 26, 1773, 287/4/4, leaving a balance due of 222/2/0. When this balance was paid is not shown in the ledger examined, but as there was a second ledger for the same period, not yet discovered, it was probably posted there. Of particular interest are the entries of payments to Buckland on April 26, 1773, which are shown below:

By Carving the chimney peice in little room below	3/10/0
By ditto ditto ditto ditto above	2/10/0
By ditto in the room over the diningroom	3/
By ditto the cornice over the rear door	1/10/0
By Workman's Wages getting ready & putt[g] up the work in the diningroom	72/ 9/10 1/2
By carving in the dining room as P[er] Account	62/ /6
By sundry materials for the diningroom P[er] Account	2/ 2/ 4 1/2
By 500 [wt] Stucco borrowed of M[r] [William] Paca	3/ 2/ 6
By 1 Month and 20 days wages from the 30th August 1773 till the 10th November following at 60[£] Sterl[g] 66 2/3 P[er] C[en]t	£287/ 4/ 4
By Balance due W[m] Buckland D[r] P[er] Contra	222/ 2

There is an entry in the ledger which suggests Colonel Lloyd visited Buckland in Annapolis to consult with him on the purchase and completion of the Chase House. The item reads: "April 26, 1773 paid Buckland by expence of Self & Horse when I purchased New House 3/10/0." In addition to the work on the Chase House the Colonel paid Buckland £2 for "working & carving the Astragals for the Porthole of the Schooner."

These entries in Colonel Lloyd's account books transform Buckland from an almost legendary figure in Annapolis into an active participant in the decoration of one of its beautiful homes.

Readbourne—The issue of June, 1950, pertaining to "Readbourne" was of tremendous interest to all who know this fine home. Granted that it is truly a magnificent structure, I wonder if Mr. Waterman quite did justice to two other Maryland mansions in his statement that Mr. Fannestock's house (is) ". . . the earliest and finest of Maryland mansions . . ." (P. 98). He states on the following page: "This is the earliest arched doorway in American domestic architecture, according to the distinguished authority, Fiske Kimball."

I believe those who know "His Lordship's Kindness" near Clinton and "Harmony Hall" (Battersea) at Broad Creek would question the first statement. Both are as old as "Readbourne" and certainly "His Lordship's Kindness"—perhaps "Harmony Hall," as well—would have as much appeal to a considerable group. There is an arched doorway at the old Darnall house on the west side, leading to the boxwood garden, which might predate "Readbourne's" by as much as five years. Minor points, to be sure, and not submitted to be controversial, but rather as provocative for those who may not know two of Prince Georges County's more superb homes.

James C. Wilfong,
725 13th Street, Washington 5, D. C.

Sanitary Commission—I am working on the United States Sanitary Commission, a forerunner of the Red Cross in the Civil War. Letters revealing the nature and extent of the work of the Commission in Maryland would be both helpful and illuminating. Manuscripts relating the lives and opinions of individuals in that period would also be appreciated.

William Quentin Maxwell,
1 West Franklin Street, Baltimore 1.

South River Club—The Historical Committee of the South River Club is endeavoring to collect data on its early history, particularly for the period before 1740. One of the interesting things about the Club is that no one knows when it was founded, for in 1740 the Club House burned and the minute books and other records were destroyed.

If any reader of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* knows of any old letters or other records that contain references to the Club or its early members, the committee will be grateful if he will communicate with them by writing or calling the Chairman, Thomson King, Director, Maryland Academy of Sciences, Enoch Pratt Library Building, MU 2370.

Carrico—Carrico genealogical research has resulted in my accumulation of extensive amount of material concerning the Carrico, Preston, Burcham, Hays, Gates, and White families. This data is at the disposal of anyone interested at no cost. Will welcome correspondence with persons interested in these lines.

Col. Homer E. Carrico,
6703 Country Club Circle, Dallas 14, Texas.

Sanders—Wotring—Thomas—Information concerning the following is requested: Ancestors of Hiram Sanders, who moved from Md., probably Wash. Co., in 1810, to Preston Co., W. Va. He was middle aged at that time. Ancestors of John Abraham Wotring and his wife Margaret Troxell Wotring, who moved from Hagerstown to Preston Co., W. Va. in 1788. Ancestors and descendants of brothers Alexander, Wm., and Lewis Thomas, who came from Wales in colonial days, probably settling in Delaware first. Gen. Geo. H. Thomas of Union Army descendant of Lewis.

Eldon B. Tucker, Jr.,
617 Grand Street, Morgantown, W. Va.

CONTRIBUTORS

MR. MORGAN, a member of the Department of History at Brown University, is preparing a definitive account of the Stamp Act controversy. ☆ The first three volumes of MR. BRANT'S monumental life of James Madison have already appeared. ☆ MR. CLARK, a native of the Eastern Shore and a graduate of Washington College, is Senior Assistant, Manuscripts, in the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia. ☆ On the faculty of Western Illinois State College since 1948, MR. HARLEY made extensive use of original records in Annapolis and Baltimore in the preparation of his doctoral dissertation entitled, "The Land System in Colonial Maryland," which was accepted by the State University of Iowa. ☆ MR. BARBEE, a frequent contributor to scholarly journals and the public press, has made an extensive study of the Lincoln Papers in the Library of Congress. ☆ Corresponding Secretary of the Society, MR. MARYE is a careful student of Maryland speech and has contributed to the *Magazine* on many previous occasions.

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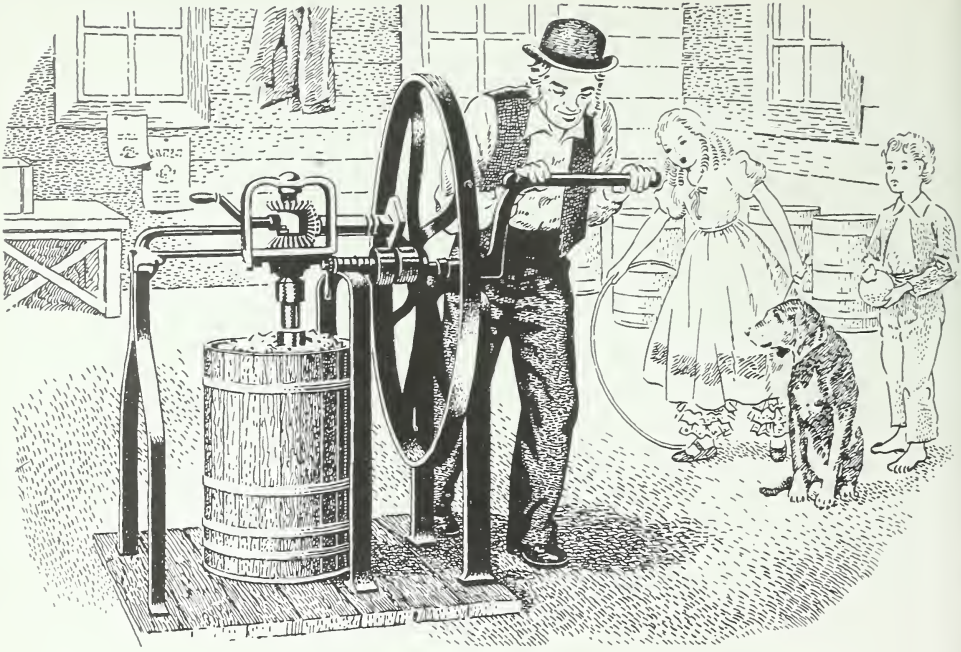

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. XLVI, No. 3 SEPTEMBER, 1951

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FRED SHELLEY, *Editor*

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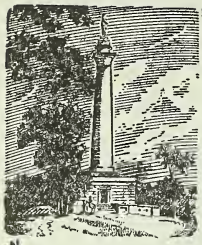

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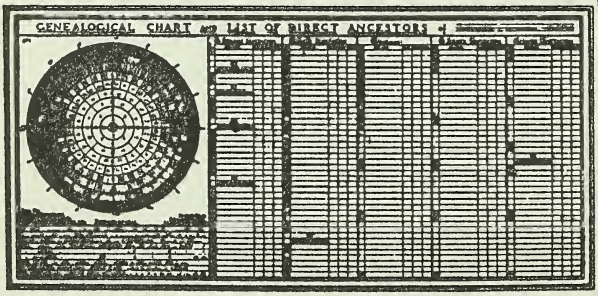

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume XLVI SEPTEMBER, 1951 Number 3

MARYLAND AS A SOURCE OF FOOD SUPPLIES DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

By Harold T. Pinkett

"THE food-supply service of a nation at war is an inseparable part of the warfare, and the food itself is a physical weapon." This truism uttered by Claude R. Wickard, United States Secretary of Agriculture, in describing the importance of America's food contribution during World War II applies with equal force to the importance of food in the struggle for American independence. Many popular accounts of this struggle mention the food problem only incidentally, as for example in describing the well known suffering of the Continental Army at Valley Forge. However, records of the deliberations and enactments of the Continental Congress and state legislative bodies, the correspondence of government executives, and the writings of military leaders show that the problem of food throughout the Revolu-

tion was hardly less significant than the more familiar harassing problems of munitions and men. They reveal that the fortunes of war sometimes were greatly affected by such unspectacular activities as the procurement and distribution of flour, pork, bacon, salt, and other foodstuffs. In turn the study of these activities throws light upon the causes of a great phenomenon of the Revolution—an almost starving army in a country of abundant food resources. These general tendencies were well exemplified by the food supply situation in Maryland during the Revolutionary period.

Throughout the American Revolution Maryland was perhaps the most favorably situated area as a source of food supplies for American and allied military forces and civilians of certain sections. With the exception of minor raids along its water courses, the State was comparatively free from enemy invasion and could continue unmolested its production of wheat, corn, vegetables, and livestock. This production was considerable, despite a predominant interest in the cultivation of tobacco. On the eve of the Revolution Maryland's wheat fields yielded from twenty-five to forty bushels per acre and those of Indian corn seldom less than fifty bushels, sometimes as much as eighty. Vegetables were said to have thrived " in greatest luxuriance." [1] Cattle and hogs could be found in most sections foraging in the forest.[2] Moreover, located between the northern and southern theaters of war, Maryland could more easily make available its abundant food resources to both theaters.

Continental officials early in the war were aware of the potentialities of Maryland as a source of food supplies. On December 26, 1776, the Continental Congress voted to give James Trumbull, Commissary General, authority to import at Continental expense from Maryland and other southern States such quantities of flour and other provisions as he might consider necessary for the support of the army.[3] However, prior to 1778 Maryland did not provide a major portion of the food supplies of the Continental army. Since New England was the scene of early military opera-

[1] Anonymous, *American Husbandry* (London, 1775), I, 262.
[2] James W. Thompson, *A History of Livestock Raising in the United States, 1607-1860* (U. S. Department of Agriculture, Agricultural History Series No. 5, 1942), pp. 44-45.
[3] Peter Force (ed.), *American Archives* (Washington, 1837-1853), 5th Series, III, 1611.

tions in the Revolution, it together with the middle states became the first important source for the army's food supplies. As these operations shifted largely to New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey during 1776 and 1777, the agricultural activities of these states were interrupted considerably and some temporary food shortages occurred. The severe suffering of the Continental army at Valley Forge during the winter of 1777-1778 was due perhaps more to an inefficient commissary organization, inadequate transportation facilities, and depreciated currency than to a food shortage in agricultural sections near the camp. Nevertheless, the plight of the army aroused great concern in all the states and in Maryland led to efforts of the state government to supplement the food procurement activities of Continental commissary agents. Accordingly, the executive Council of Maryland [4] in January 1778 ordered that purchasers be appointed to procure in Somerset County cattle suitable for slaughter for the use of the Continental army. These purchasers were authorized to obtain the cattle by contract if the owners were willing to sell them for a " just price." But, if the owners refused, the purchasers were empowered to seize the cattle, leaving a sufficient quantity for the subsistence of the owners and their families and paying the value at the rate as near as could be estimated of one shilling per pound for good beef and nine pence for that of any inferior grade.[5] Authority for this method of procurement was extended to other counties by an act of the Maryland Assembly in March, 1778. This act also authorized the governor, at certain rates, to hire or impress carriages, teams, drivers, boats, and laborers to transport cattle, beef, pork, and bacon for the use of the army. The measure apparently was quite successful in aiding the procurement of beef, since by the end of July, 1778, such an abundant supply had been obtained that purchases of it by state agents were temporarily halted.[6]

Meanwhile the grain fields of Maryland were looming larger in efforts to feed the army. By 1778 more and more of the products of these fields were being delivered to the principal army magazine in Maryland situated at the head of navigation

[4] The Council was the principal State executive agency and worked closely with the Governor in furnishing supplies and military forces during the Revolution.
[5] *Archives of Maryland*, XVI, 456-457.
[6] *Ibid.*, XXI, 170.

on the Elk River.[7] According to the Continental commissary at this magazine, by March 10, 1778, 5,000 bushels of wheat and 5,000 of corn had been delivered. Contracts had been made for 36,000 bushels of wheat and 10,000 of corn and other supplies.[8] Despite rising prices and profiteering, Army purchasers in the State managed to secure about 10,000 barrels of flour in the spring of 1779.[9]

The importance of Maryland wheat in army plans and operations was clearly revealed during the fall and winter of 1779-1780. On October 4, Washington in a letter to John Jay, President of the Marine Committee of the Continental Congress, stated:

> It would be well of the Marine Committee [of the Congress] to be directed to turn their attention to the transportation of flour from the Delaware and Chesapeake by water. Should we obtain command of the sea, vessels might, without the least danger be introduced within the Hook, thence to Amboy, from whence their cargoes might easily be conveyed in boats up Newark Bay. Or should some of them run round into the Sound, it would be equally, nay, more convenient. Should we operate to the eastward, measures of this kind will be indispensably necessary, as the length and difficulty of land carriage will render the support of any considerable body of men almost impossible. The wheat of Maryland being in more forwardness of grinding than any other, I could wish that Governor Johnson may be requested to push the purchases within that State.[10]

In accordance with this request, Jay urged Governor Johnson to help the army obtain necessary food supplies. Accordingly, upon the recommendation of the Governor, the Assembly in its November Session of 1779 passed "an Act for the immediate supply of flour and other provisions for the army." This law provided for the appointment in each county of commissioners for the collection of wheat, flour, rye, and corn. They were empowered to make the most diligent search for these supplies, and under certain restrictions to seize them wherever found, upon giving the owners certificates, showing the time, quantity, and price of the commodities seized. They were required, however, to leave the

[7] This supply depot at Head of Elk, now Elkton, was at the northeastern extremity of navigation upon the Chesapeake Bay. It was the most convenient point, accessible by water from which provisions could be sent from Maryland to Philadelphia and New Jersey.

[8] Beverly W. Bond, Jr., *State Government in Maryland, 1777-1781*, Johns Hopkins University Studies, XXIII (Baltimore, 1905), p. 47.

[9] *Archives of Maryland*, XXI, 366, 429.

[10] *Ibid.*, XXI, 547.

owner a sufficient supply for the use of his family for four months.[11]

This action by Maryland came at a critical period in the army supply service. On December 8, 1779, Ephraim Blaine, then Deputy Commissary General of the Continental army, complained:

> The depreciated State of our Currency, the Spirit of Monopoly which so generally prevails with mankind, and the temper of the Farmers to hold back from Sale such produce as they have to spare, is very alarming and makes me dread a Dissolution of the Army for want of Bread.[12]

Washington, equally perturbed, said the army food supply situation was "beyond description alarming." He informed the newly elected governor, Thomas Sim Lee, that the army magazines were empty and that, even if the army were put on one-third the daily ration of bread, the supply would be exhausted in three days.[13] Governor Lee in a proclamation of December 29, 1779, made a stirring appeal to the citizens of his State to aid in relieving the grave situation of the army by cooperating with the supply-purchasing commissioners.[14]

At this juncture of the Revolution the Continental Congress, being almost without money or credit, threw the burden of feeding the Continental Army on the States by making requisitions to them for specific supplies. Louis C. Hatch, an authority on the administration of the Revolutionary army, seems to have been unduly harsh in characterizing this new supply system as "an utter failure."[15] The system was inefficient and expensive in many respects. Under it the States frequently obtained their quotas by taxes in kind and supplies were furnished irregularly. Nevertheless, under this requisition system Maryland and other States furnished considerable quantities of food which undoubtedly helped to prevent the threatened dissolution of the army. Moreover, the new system had the advantage of eliminating the competitive bidding for supplies between Continental and State food purchasers.

Thus on December 11, 1779, Maryland had been requested to

[11] *Laws of Maryland*, Chapter 32, November Session, 1779.
[12] *Archives of Maryland*, XLIII, 381. Letter of Blaine to Governor Thomas Sim Lee, December 8, 1779.
[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 386-387.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 43.
[15] *The Administration of the American Revolutionary Army* (New York, 1904), p. 104.

furnish 15,000 barrels of flour. Shortly thereafter an additional requisition was made for 5,000 barrels of flour and 500 of Indian corn for delivery before April 1, 1780.[16] Governor Lee and the Council strove earnestly to comply with these requisitions. In January, 1780, Oliver Ellsworth believed that Maryland was "making every exertion to supply the army with bread."[17] On February 17, however, the Council expressed concern over the fact that not more than 8,000 barrels of flour had been obtained under the procurement law of 1779.[18] By the end of April at least 1,069 additional barrels had been obtained and transported to the army from the Head of Elk.[19] It appears, therefore, that Maryland furnished only about half of the supplies requested in the Continental requisitions mentioned above.

More legislation for the relief of the army was enacted during the summer of 1780. In response to resolutions of Congress, and letters from General Washington and the Committee of Cooperation of the Continental Congress relative to the need of more money, men and supplies from the State, the General Assembly passed among other measures "an Act to procure a Supply of Salt Meat for the use of the Army" and "an Act to procure an extra Supply of Provisions of the Bread Kind." Agents appointed in the several counties to enforce these laws were directed to inform citizens that the power of seizure would be exercised, unless they readily furnished the supplies needed so badly by the army.[20] By November, 1780, this legislation had enabled the procurement of 12,212 bushels of wheat, 1,094 barrels of flour, 20,976 pounds of bacon, and smaller quantities of other foodstuffs. These quantities did not include certain commodities provided by Somerset, Queen Anne's, Caroline, and Washington counties.[21] Although this aid was eagerly received by the army, it was not enough to complete the quota of food supplies expected from the State by Congress. The Council was especially disturbed by the failure of State agents to obtain sufficient flour supplies.[22] Yet, these supplies were considerable. The commis-

[16] *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Washington, 1904-1937), XVI, 144.
[17] E. C. Burnett (ed.), *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (Washington, 1921-1936), V, 9. Oliver Ellsworth to Jonathan Trumball, January 4, 1780.
[18] *Archives of Maryland*, XLIII, 90.
[19] *Ibid.*, XLIII, 475.
[20] *Ibid.*, XLIII, 216.
[21] Bond, *op. cit.*, p. 49, footnote.
[22] *Archives of Maryland*, XLIII, 276.

sary at the Head of Elk was able to report that during the year of 1780 more than 16,000 barrels of flour and about 1,000 barrels of bread had been delivered at his depot "for the use of the United States." [23]

Meanwhile the fisheries of Maryland were being used to some extent to help provide provisions for the army. In February, 1778, General Horatio Gates, then chairman of the Continental Board of War, was informed by the State Council that several persons who had fisheries on the Potomac River would willingly sell considerable quantities of large shad, possibly from 2,000 to 5,000 barrels.[24] Later several hundred barrels of shad and herring were shipped from Charlestown and Baltimore to the Head of Elk. A deterrent to greater use of fish seems to have been the acute shortage of salt for preservative purposes. Considerable quantities of fish were reported as spoiled on arrival at the Head of Elk.[25]

While Maryland was furnishing a great portion of the food supplies of the Continental Army, it was also providing considerable quantities of food to French forces brought into the Revolutionary cause by the Franco-American Alliance of 1778. Even before the arrival of the French fleet, the Assembly relaxed the State embargo by allowing permits to be granted for cargoes of wheat, flour and other provisions to be carried to the West Indies for its supply.[26] During the period from May 1, 1779, to December 16, 1779, the French purchasing agent in Baltimore shipped for the use of French forces in the West Indies and Virginia 3,158 barrels of flour, 214 of bread and 11 of bran, and 43 kegs of biscuits. The agent also received permission to ship cargoes of potatoes, turnips, and other vegetables.[27] This action by Maryland was warmly characterized by Conrad Alexander Gerard, French minister to the United States, as "une novelle preuve que cet Etat donne de son attachment á l'alliance et de son zéle pour tout ce qui peut interesser la cause commune." [28]

The auspicious relations occasioned by this aid to the French were interrupted at the close of 1779 as Maryland officials strove

[23] *Ibid.*, XLVII, 77.
[24] *Ibid.*, XVI, 506.
[25] *Ibid.*, XLIII, 525.
[26] *Ibid.*, XXI, 472-473.
[27] *Ibid.*, XLIII, 436; XXI, 554-556.
[28] *Ibid.*, XXI, 500-501. The Minister's comment may be translated, "New proof of the State's attachment to the alliance and of its zeal for all that relates to the common cause."

to furnish more supplies to the Continental army. When the Assembly learned that persons acting or pretending to act for the principal French agent had made purchases of wheat and flour in the State beyond the amount authorized, it voted that such surplus purchases should be deemed as having been made for the United States. Consequently, state officials were ordered to seize all wheat and flour purchased by the French agent, pending assurances from the Continental Congress or General Washington that the American army had adequate provisions. Restoration was to be made of the amount of wheat and flour which the agents were authorized to buy.[29]

These strong measures brought an indignant protest from the newly appointed French minister, Chevalier de la Luzerne, who complained to Congress, that if the measures were enforced, it would be impossible to supply the French fleet. However, reports convinced Governor Lee and his Council that the French agent had greatly exceeded the amount of flour officially allowed for his purchase. They insisted, therefore, that the seizures must continue until the American army was fully supplied. The Council declared: "It is better the Marine of France should submit to a temporary Disappointment than that we should hazard the Disbanding of the Army of the United States by procrastinating the Supplies."[30] Congress settled this controversy by requesting Maryland to give the French agent sufficient flour to allow his purchases to total 15,00 barrels.[31] This request was granted with the proviso that the flour necessary to complete the French contract should be deducted from the Continental requisitions to the State. The wheat already seized from the French agent or other persons in his employ was restored upon the authorization of the Council in May, 1780. To prevent further abuses, flour for the French fleet was thereafter procured by Continental or State agents. At the request of Congress during the summer of 1780, 3,000 extra barrels of flour were given clearance from Maryland ports for the French fleet in the West Indies.[32] During this time also an agent of Robert Morris was given permission to ship flour

[29] *Ibid.*, XLIII, 66-68.
[30] *Ibid.*, XLIII, 67. Letter of the Council to the Chevalier de la Luzerne, January 24, 1780.
[31] *Ibid.*, XLIII, 455.
[32] *Ibid.*, XLIII, 175.

from Baltimore for the Spanish fleet which also had been sent to the West Indies.[33]

The breach with the French was apparently well healed by 1781. State authorities seemed to bend every effort to assure the delivery of ample provisions to the Marquis de Lafayette and his forces who arrived at the Head of Elk in March, 1781. The Council directed that " five or six Barrels of the best fine white Biscuit should be immediately baked or procured for the use of the Marquis and his Family." [34] Expressing its deep interest in the proposed campaign of Lafayette against General Arnold in Virginia, the Council declared:

> We have ordered all the Vessels at Baltimore and in this Port [i. e. Annapolis] to be impressed and sent to the Head of Elk to transport the Detachment under your Command, and we have directed six hundred Barrels of Bread to be forwarded in them. This State will most chearfully make every Exertion to give Force and Efficacy to the present important Expedition by every Measure in our Power.[35]

This interest in the welfare of French forces seems to have continued throughout the war. For example, in August, 1781, the Council ordered the purchase or seizure of 5,000 head of cattle to provide meat for 7,000 French troops en route to Virginia to fight against Cornwallis.[36]

The food resources of Maryland were also important in helping to alleviate civilian food shortages in various states and the West Indies and in obtaining in return from these regions supplies which the State lacked. Exportation of food supplies for these purposes required the removal of specific embargo restrictions which the State enforced during the Revolution to combat high prices and the scarcity of grain and other foodstuffs. Thus in 1776 the State embargo was lifted temporarily to permit the sending to the West Indies of several vessels loaded with flour, wheat, corn, and other commodities for return cargoes of military supplies.[37]

In compliance with a resolution of Congress of September 2, 1778, that properly accredited vessels should be allowed to carry wheat for the needy New England States, the State Council gave

[33] *Ibid.*, XLIII, 256.
[34] *Ibid.*, XLV, 335.
[35] *Ibid.*, XLV, 337. Letter of the Council to Lafayette, March 3, 1781.
[36] *Ibid.*, XLV, 590.
[37] J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1879), II, 272.

several vessels clearance during succeeding months.[38] When in 1779 Congress again requested that permission be given to purchase food supplies in the State for export to New England, the Council again permitted vessels to load flour for ports in that region.[39]

Moreover, the embargo laws were set aside in October, 1779, to permit the shipment of flour to Virginia. An agent at Baltimore was appointed by Virginia to secure bread and flour. In the period from October 21, 1779, to December 20, 1779, this official was reported to have shipped 256 barrels of flour for the Virginia Board of War.[40] Exports to Virginia were interrupted, however, during the winter of 1779-1780 when the acute food shortage of the army induced the seizure of wheat and flour purchased for non-Continental use. When Governor Jefferson of Virginia complained that this action deprived State troops of needed provisions, the Maryland Council replied that the needs of the Continental army demanded first consideration.[41] However, on November 8, 1780, the Council adopted a resolution requesting that some 845 bushels of wheat and 375 barrels of flour seized from Virginia's purchasing agent be credited by the Commissary General to Virginia on its specific supplies required by Congress and that the same be charged to Maryland.[42]

A food shortage in the Bermuda Islands also caused Maryland officials to make an exception to the observance of the embargo on foodstuffs. Having been informed of the distress in the Islands and assured that relief supplies would be faithfully distributed, Congress on May 18, 1779, requested Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, and North Carolina each to allow the exportation of 1,000 bushels of corn for the relief of the Bermudians. Accordingly, on December 7, 1779, the Council gave permission for the exportation of 1,010 bushels of Indian corn for this relief purpose. The vessel carrying this shipment brought to Baltimore a return cargo of 1,000 bushels of salt. Additional shipments of corn for Bermuda consisting of 300 bushels each were also given clearance on May 19 and June 17, 1780.[43]

[38] *Archives of Maryland*, XXI, 201 *ff.*
[39] *Ibid.*, XXI, 314, 361-362, 368.
[40] *Ibid.*, XLIII, 435.
[41] *Ibid.*, XLIII, 95.
[42] *Ibid.*, XLIII, 353.
[43] *Ibid.*, XLIII, 32, 177, 197-198, 376.

The State continued strenuously to provide food supplies for the army during 1781. Although its efforts in this connection fell short of the requisitions by Congress, they were creditable when viewed in the light of several impeding factors to be discussed later in this paper. Several hundred barrels of flour, pork, and beef were forwarded from magazines at the Head of Elk, Georgetown, and Frederick. State food purchasing agents were frequently authorized to use seizure methods where owners were reluctant to sell food supplies or to resort to impressment of necessary transportation facilities. On the eve of the battle of Yorktown the Council assured General Washington: " Nothing within the Compass of our Power shall be omitted to obtain and hasten to your Excellancy Supplies of every Kind." When that historic battle occurred, the State was daily forwarding flour and cattle for the Continental forces.[44] Moreover, after the surrender of Cornwallis, Maryland officials were called upon to station some 2,000 British prisoners of war at Frederick and to provide them with food.[45] During 1782 they were also expected to provide food for Continental and French forces passing through the State en route from the southern campaign. In 1783 the Council gave permission for the export of Indian corn and flour for the use of Maryland prisoners held in New York.[46]

Food production and distribution during the American Revolution were constantly hampered by several factors. In this connection a leading factor was the depreciation of the State and Continental currencies as a result of excessive issuances of paper money. By 1779 serious difficulties were being encountered in the use of paper currency for the purchase of provisions for the army.[47] Some farmers in Maryland and other States were reluctant to part with their commodities in exchange for bills of credit but eagerly sold the commodities for specie, which the French and British could more easily supply than the American authorities. Noticing that prices in paper currency rose overnight, these farmers naturally had a tendency to hoard their products. By 1780 Maryland commissaries for food purchases were constantly emphasizing the necessity for cash to enable them

[44] *Ibid.*, XLV, 637, 648.
[45] *Ibid.*, XLV, 660, 663, 665.
[46] *Ibid.*, XLVIII, 374, 381.
[47] Lewis C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860* (New York, 1941), II, 586-589.

to procure sufficient provisions. The commissary for Queen Anne's County reported to Governor Lee that his commission to make purchases for the Army without cash was " like a body without a Soul incapable of motion." Much wheat could be obtained, he declared, but only for cash. The people's wants were not to be supplied by certificates. Similarly, the commissary in Montgomery County stated that he was unable to make large purchases of provisions due to the unwillingness of the people to accept the depreciated currency. He hoped that the State Assembly would " fall on some means to give it a Circulation." [48]

Moreover, the availability of food supplies was seriously affected by two practices common in war time—the ancient practices of forestalling and engrossing. Interest in procuring army provisions on reasonable terms prompted the Maryland Council of Safety as early as January, 1777, to ask county committees of observation and other persons to send the names of those persons engaging in " the odious Practice of forestalling and Ingrossing " so that they could be prosecuted under State laws.[49] On February 18, 1778, the Council complained to General Gates of the Continental Board of War that the inadequacy of the State's pork supply was due in part to engrossing by " some avaricious People." [50] Complaints continued despite the passage by the Assembly of more strict measures against forestalling and engrossing in November, 1779. The Council in ordering the seizure of flour, allegedly bought for the French forces in 1780, was influenced largely by the fear that much of this flour had been purchased for illegal speculative purposes.

Competitive bidding was another factor which increased the difficulties of food procurement agents. Early in the Revolution difficulty was encountered in counties where two or more agents were making food purchases.[51] Moreover, prior to 1780 there was competitive bidding for food supplies between State and Continental commissaries. Meanwhile this competition was increased after 1778 by the purchasing activities of real or pretended agents

[48] *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 32, 147.

[49] *Ibid.*, XVI, 50. *Forestalling* meant the intercepting and purchasing of commodities from farmers who would normally carry them to marketing centers. *Engrossing* was the attempt to monopolize the supply of marketable products. Both of these practices tended to help create shortages of food supplies and enable the raising of prices thereon to abnormally high levels.

[50] *Ibid.*, XVI, 505.

[51] *Ibid.*, XII, 275.

for the French fleet and army and agents for the Massachusetts and Virginia Boards of War.

In Maryland as in the other States, the scarcity of salt was a principal factor in impeding the procurement of an adequate supply of beef and pork. Local food purchasing agents often reported finding livestock in abundance, but were compelled to limit their purchase to the number that could be slaughtered and preserved with salt. The following complaint of a purchasing agent of Kent County was typical: " I could have purchased by this time the 100 barrels of beef and as many of Pork had the salt been ready." [52] Maryland and other states attempted to encourage the establishment of salt works, foster importation, prevent profiteering, and distribute available supplies of salt. Nevertheless, this important commodity remained scarce throughout the Revolutionary War.[53]

The meat supply service was also impeded by misunderstandings about or lack of adequate facilities for slaughtering cattle. Continental procurement agents felt that the States should handle the slaughtering of cattle rather than the mere driving or tranporting of them to supply depots. Moreover, it was not clear as to whether the expenses of slaughtering should be borne by Congress or the States. Thus the State commissary at Head of Elk complained as late as September, 1781, that he had 200 head of cattle which a Continental commissary refused to receive on the grounds that his orders were to " receive Beef Slaughtered and Barreled up, and not Cattle." On the other hand, the Continental Commissary General pointed out that it was impossible for him to attend to slaughtering in the various localities where cattle were available, to say nothing of the fact that he had " not one shilling of money to defray the expense." [54]

Unfavorable weather conditions and insects sometimes helped to decrease food supplies. The wheat crop of 1778 in Maryland and other southern states was seriously damaged by flies.[55] In August, 1780, the commissary at Port Tobacco advised Governor Lee to have all the wheat purchased in this vicinity removed to another locality since there was a risk of its becoming spoiled in Port Tobacco mills which had " neither screens or cooling Floors."

[52] *Ibid.*, 499. Letter of Thomas Smyth to the Council, December 1, 1776.
[53] Gray, *op. cit.*, II, 584-585.
[54] *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 509, 525.
[55] Burnett, *op. cit.*, III, 541. Jay to Lowndes, December 18, 1778.

The State commissary at Head of Elk in September, 1781, also warned of the menace of the fly to wheat collected in his district. The possibilities of insect damage to wheat were increased sometimes by delays in milling operations due to inadequate water power. As a result of drought or freezing conditions the water in some mill streams was sufficient to turn the wheels of mills only a few months during the year.[56] Even if this delay did not increase the danger of insect damage to the wheat, it nevertheless, impeded the manufacture of flour for military and civilian needs. Then, too, crops might be directly affected adversely by abnormal weather conditions. Such was the case in the spring of 1779 when severe frost damaged a great part of the wheat crop of Maryland.[57]

The food supply service was also affected adversely in some instances by inadequate transportation facilities. Roads suitable for effective hauling were almost non-existent in many parts of Maryland. Much food production occurred in isolated communities engaged in an economy largely self-sufficient.[58] Moreover, there was a critical shortage of horses and wagons to meet the needs of increased internal commerce brought by the Revolution. A committee of Congress while inspecting army conditions at Valley Forge in February, 1778, made the following observation in a letter to Governor Johnson:

> Some Brigades have not tasted Flesh in four days. . . . The Commissaries inform us that they have not only met great Difficulties in purchasing Provisions in your State but that they cannot even transport what they have purchased for the want of Waggons and the like.[59]

This shortage was also evident from the numerous requests of local food purchasing agents to the Council for authority to impress wagons for the transportation of provisions. Closely related to this problem was the occasional shortage of forage which made it difficult to feed horses used in transporting food supplies. In this connection Donaldson Yeates, Deputy Quarter Master for Maryland and Delaware, reported to Governor Lee in December, 1780, that no forage was available at Head of Elk or Baltimore where there was the greatest necessity of supplying the horses which were being used in the transportation of provisions for the

[56] *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 53; XLVII, 494, 509.
[57] *Ibid.*, XXI, 373, 520.
[58] Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 585.
[59] *Archives of Maryland*, XVI, 503; Letter of Francis Dana and Others of a Committee of Congress to Governor Johnson, February 16, 1778.

Northern and Southern armies.[60] Still another delay in the food supply service resulted in some instances from the diversion of available vessels to the service of carrying troops and ordnance stores. Such a situation existed on the Eastern Shore of Maryland in September, 1781, when there were reported to be no vessels available to transport to suitable mills the large quantities of wheat which had been collected by local commissaries.[61]

Moreover, food production and supply in the State were reduced or interrupted to some extent by certain labor conditions. To begin with, a considerable number of Negro slaves, the principal agricultural laborers of the State, escaped or were seized by the British and thereby caused an interruption of agricultural activity in some communities. Furthermore, inflation and the limited financial resources of the State and central government sometimes tended to prevent the securing of necessary laborers in certain critical activities. Thus, for example, in March, 1780, flour shipments were being held up at Head of Elk due to a shortage of barrels resulting from the refusal of coopers to work for paper certificates.[62] Moreover, shortages of barrels and casks for food supplies tended to arise during the latter part of summer when coopers left their shops to harvest crops.[63]

Finally, internal disturbances provoked by pro-British sympathizers may have impeded to some extent the food supply service of the State. For example, a grist mill in Kent County was alleged to have been destroyed in June, 1780, by Tories flushed with the success of recent British military operations and desirous of reducing still further the precarious food supply of the Continental army. At about the same time Governor Lee and the Council considered it necessary to send a State vessel to Hooper's Strait for the purpose of subduing and capturing the British or disaffected inhabitants of the State who were interfering with trade and seizing the property of loyal citizens in that vicinity.[64]

One of the most prominent authorities on the history of Maryland declared that the granaries of the State fed the American Revolutionary army in a larger degree than those of any other State.[65] This assertion has not been proved statistically in terms of the quantity of foodstuffs provided for the army. The lack

[60] *Ibid.*, XLV, 202.
[61] *Ibid.*, XLVII, 503.
[62] Ibid., XLIII, 453.
[63] *Ibid.*, XLVII, 470.
[64] *Ibid.*, XLIII, 242, 528-529.
[65] Scharf, *op. cit.*, II, 351.

of systematic recording of the quantities of such supplies furnished during the entire Revolutionary period probably precludes such statistical proof.[66] However, the testimony of responsible Continental officials amply reveals the considerable exertions of the State in providing necessary food supplies. In appreciation of these exertions during the winter of 1779-1780 the Commissary General of Purchases offered to Governor Lee his thanks and the warm acknowledgments of General Washington and declared that it was largely due to the efforts of Maryland that he was able to feed the army with bread through the winter.[67] Robert Morris in August, 1781, while urging Maryland authorities to provide certain supplies then over due, admitted that he was aware that they had "upon all occasions executed the demands of Congress with a decision and vigor" which did them honor.[68] The Committee of Cooperation of the Continental Congress was confident in June, 1780, that Maryland would do its utmost to comply with recent Continental requisitions because of the State's reputation for "indefatigable attention . . . to the welfare of the United States."[69] At the same time General Washington expressed thanks to the General Assembly for its "ready attention to and compliance with the several requisitions" of provisions which he had recently made.[70] He gave eloquent testimony of the exertions of the State on the eve of the battle of Yorktown, at which time he declared: "The supplies granted by the State are so liberal, that they remove every apprehension of want."[71] These statements and the record of the supplies furnished in spite of many unfavorable circumstances would seem to indicate that Maryland's food contribution to the Revolution was certainly considerable and highly creditable. They also seem to show that this contribution helped greatly to bolster the admittedly weak foundation on which the Revolutionary food supply system rested.

[66] County Commissaries of food purchases frequently failed to submit to the proper authorities reports on provisions which they were supplying directly to Continental Commissaries. See *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 561.
[67] *Archives of Maryland*, XLIII, 463, 506.
[68] *Ibid.*, XLVIII, 453.
[69] *Ibid.*, XLIII, 518.
[70] *Ibid.*, XLIII, 525.
[71] *Ibid.*, XLVII, 521. Letter of Washington to Governor Lee, October 12, 1781

SOTTERLEY, ST. MARY'S COUNTY

By Marian McKenna

FROM Annapolis where the Severn empties into the Chesapeake down to the mouth of the Potomac, the roads of Southern Maryland lead to many fine mansions, for the most part opulent dwellings built on the shores of rivers where they could easily be reached by boat at a time when the land approaches were little more than tracks through the wilderness.

Here, in this country, instead of palaces, tombs or cathedrals, the real historical monuments are the fine old houses that tell the history of the American people. They keep a personal and appealing record of the way people lived when the nation was young.[1]

One of these plantations, known today as "Sotterley," has had a long and interesting history. Situated on the Patuxent River in northern St. Mary's County, its story is almost as old as that of Maryland itself. St. Mary's is in the heart of the region where the manorial system in colonial America flourished. In 1650 4,000 acres bordering on the western shore of the Patuxent River, just opposite St. Leonard's Creek, were granted to Captain Thomas Cornwallis. This manor, "together with all the Royalties and Privileges . . . most usually belonging to Mannors [*sic*] in England . . ." was held "in Free and Common Soccage" and extended from St. Thomas' Creek on the north to Cuckold's Creek on the south.[2] Cornwallis owned considerable land in other parts of the county and built Cross Manor, on the lower part of the peninsula, where he resided until he returned to England.

Of the original grant, which Cornwallis called Resurrection Manor, about 1,000 acres are included in the present Sotterley.[3]

[1] Richard Pratt, *A Treasure of Early American Homes* (New York, 1949), p. 3.
[2] Patents, Liber A, B & H, 151, Land Office, Annapolis.
[3] Adjoining Resurrection but farther inland to the west and southwest, with no river frontage, was Fenwick Manor, a parcel of 2,000 acres granted in the same

The estate was purchased in 1910 by the late Herbert L. Satterlee and is now the property of his daughter, Mrs. Mabel Satterlee Ingalls. The unusual character of the house, its gradual growth through more than a century, and the beauty of its interior woodcarving have long been celebrated. The full story of Sotterley has so far only been sketched.

In 1670, when the sale of land in fee simple was lawful, Cornwallis transferred Resurrection Manor to John Bateman.[4] Four years later, Mary Bateman, his daughter " . . . sold over to Richard Perry all the Mannor . . . Called the Resurrecion [*sic*] . . ." for 100£, and " . . . for 420£ Henry Scarborough, her husband, relinguished all his claims to Perry also." [5] In 1684 Perry turned over " . . . all the Mannor of the Resurrection " to Edmund and George Plowden of Lagham, in Southhampton, including " all the outbuildings, tobacco houses, barns, and negroes on said property for 500£." [6]

The Plowden line in English history had been seated in Shropshire from a period anterior to any known records. George Plowden, who thus acquired the Manor, was the son of Sir Edmund Plowden, Earl of Albion. The property remained in Plowden hands until 1710 when George Plowden sold about 1000 acres to James Bowles, from whom the land derived the name " Bowles' Preservation." [7] Although clearly transcribed in the early records, modern writers have recorded it as " Bowles' Separation."

Thus, in less than a century, a substantial part of the original manor had passed through the hands of five owners. This seems rather unusual, because as the land system was further democratized, very few manors held together until the influx of slaves made it possible to cultivate large plantations profitably; the larger number disintegrated almost immediately, giving way to smaller holdings and individual owners.

James Bowles, a son of Tobias Bowles, of London, was a Freeman of considerable wealth and was a member of the Council of

year to Cuthbert Fenwick, attorney to Cornwallis and prominent in public affairs. Parts of the original manor remained in the possession of the Fenwick family for many generations. *Ibid.*, 151-152.

[4] Chancery Court Proceedings, Liber No. 1, 20, Land Office, Annapolis.

[5] *Ibid.*, Liber No. 2, 60-61.

[6] Provincial Court Deeds, Liber WRC, No. 1, 1676-1699, 350-353, Land Office, Annapolis.

[7] Rent Rolls for St. Mary's County (1716), p. 73, Land Office, Annapolis.

Maryland. He seems to have intended to make the Manor a permanent home for his wife and children. At the very outset, he demanded a resurvey of all his property since he " conceived there might be some surplus land within Ye bounds of this part. . . ." [8] As he suspected, he possessed additional acreage, which was patented to him on January 18, 1716/7.[9] The survey records give a detailed description of the geographic boundaries of the property which conforms accurately with the Sotterley of the later 19th century.

Bowles' first wife was Jane Lowe, by whom he had one daughter, Jane Lowe Bowles. Shortly after the birth of her daughter Mrs. Bowles died. Bowles soon took another wife, Rebecca Addison.[10] Two daughters, Eleanor and Mary, were born of this marriage.

During the 1720's Bowles added to his holdings, bringing the tract to more than 1,000 acres. Sometime after 1717 he began the construction of a dwelling house in which he and his family were living at the time of his death in 1727. When James Bowles decided upon the site for his new home, he chose well. The house is perched upon an elevation sloping gently to a bluff along the shore of the Patuxent, commanding an excellent prospect of the river, the shore of Calvert County beyond, and the surrounding countryside. Sotterley gates are a short two miles off the old Three Notch Road, still the main artery of the peninsula which once served as a direct route from Point Lookout to Annapolis. Branching from it are many shorter roads to steamboat landings and estates overlooking the Patuxent. St. Mary's City, capital of the colony till 1692, is just ten miles away.

No formal scheme of architecture is apparent in Sotterley today. Parts of the interior decoration represent certain well known periods in colonial architecture. The exterior is more picturesque than impressive. It seems to represent growth rather than a plan and to have reached its present form through various alterations. Each successive owner made changes and additions according to individual tastes and needs. The owners, of whom more later, were Bowles to 1727, the Plater family to 1822, Colonel Somerville in 1822, Thomas Barber to 1826, the Briscoe family to 1905,

[8] Surveys, Liber RY, No. 1, 326-327, Land Office, Annapolis.
[9] Surveys, Liber FF, No. 7, 85-86, Land Office, Annapolis.
[10] Date of this marriage unknown.

John and Elizabeth Cashner to 1910, and the Satterlees and Ingalls to the present. Some especially fine work during the occupancy of the Platers has given the house a distinctive personality.

The arresting feature of Sotterley, when approached from the river side (see cover picture), is the covered colonnade along the entire front of the house, which measures nearly 100 feet. This loggia suggests the somewhat more spacious but shorter piazza on the river side of Mount Vernon.[11] It is paved with large rectangular flagstones. Square columns support the roof and clusters of climbing roses. It is virtually certain that the colonnade was constructed in the latter half of the 18th century, for the original structure built by Bowles consisted only of the right or northern portion—a traditonal type 17th century brick building, one and a half stories high with dormer windows and tall chimneys on the gable ends.[12] This building with the library added was in the shape of a small, squat T. Other rooms, added to the south arm of the T, gave the house somewhat the shape of an L. From a distance one notices a small cupola that bears the Plater coat of arms and the date 1730.[13] Though documentation is lacking, it seems reasonable to suppose that the cupola—at the crossing of the T—was erected by George Plater II to mark the completion of the house in that year. The coat of arms is also on the sun dial in the garden.

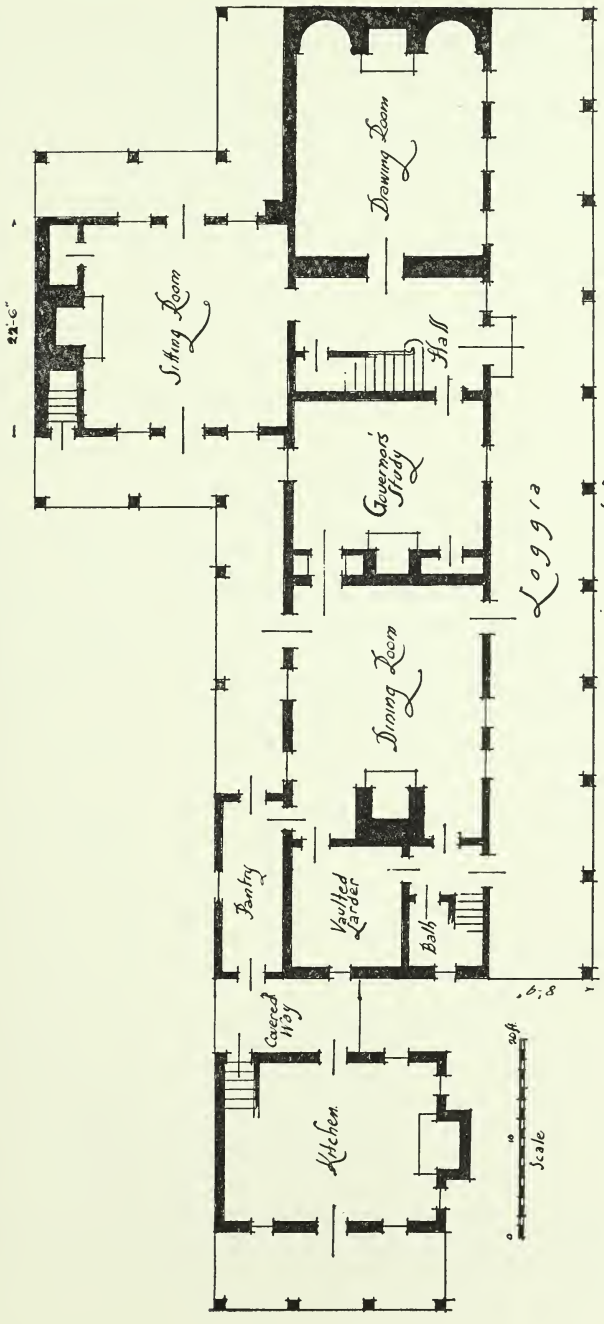
Entering the main hallway, one sees the beautifully wrought staircase, hand carved in Chinese Chippendale style. The stair rail as well as the newel post, ingeniously carved and contrived in the late 18th century, is similar to that which graced Bushwood, another St. Mary's County house (destroyed by fire in 1934), and to the railing at Bohemia in Cecil County.

To the right of the main hall is the drawing room, unchanged since the time of James Bowles. The walls are panelled in pine and painted white. The window frames are of walnut, and the heavy door is solid mahogany hung on rising hinges of brass. Opposite the door is a fine fireplace with bracketed mantel and a large overmantel panel embellished with dog eared trim and fret motif. The carved recesses on either side of the fireplace are

[11] Precedent for the piazza is unknown, but it is considered a complete innovation for the period. The one at Mount Vernon was not completed until 1784.

[12] The bricks used in the building were probably made from clay dug in the woods around Sotterley. Traces of several clay pits have recently been found.

[13] See Gwillim's *Display of Heraldry*; also McHenry Howard, "Some Early Colonial Marylanders," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XV (1920), 168-170.



SKETCH PLAN OF FIRST FLOOR OF SOTTERLEY, 1951

perhaps the best examples in Maryland of the shell pattern. They are reminiscent of the Italian Renaissance, the first period during which the shell motif was used to any large extent.[14] The shell pattern was used all through the Queen Anne period (1710-1740) in architecture, during which this room was completed. It is the oldest and most interesting part of the house. The style embodied in the work of this room contains the warmth of the Queen Anne tradition which, in the opinion of some, has never been surpassed for richness and livability.

Colonial wood carving may have been less precise than that which has been restored, but the revived colonial building loses something by its very exactness. Most woodwork today is the product of a mill, while in colonial times all the woodwork was the product of ingenious carvers and joiners. Their work may not always have had perfection of line, but they gave it a personal touch which can never be achieved by a mill.

The library or sitting room at the rear of the main hall was what Bowles' executors referred to in the inventory [15] as " the new room." It is clearly an addition to the main part of the house, affording more space, and because of the many windows and doors it has more air and light than any other room in the house. The room to the left of the main hall, now called the " Governor's study," because Governor Plater kept his library there, is almost square. It is panelled in pine painted white and contains a finely wrought mantel.

From the study a door connects with the long dining room that was added by Plater. There are many windows on either side of its lengthwise walls. The eastern side affords an excellent view of the river. The fireplace and mantel are vaguely reminiscent of the work of the Adam brothers. Several portraits of the Plater family, collected by Mr. Satterlee, line the walls of this room.

Doors from the dining room lead to the pantry, a store room, and a covered passage to the detached kitchen. Built of brick by Mr. Satterlee in 1915, the kitchen conforms in line and detail with the brick gable ends of the house. The storeroom has a vaulted ceiling and probably served in Plater's time as an armory or gun room. Another door from the dining room leads to the

[14] The actual reign of Queen Anne (1702-1714) was earlier than the period which is characterized by baroque ornaments with engaged columns, etc. See H. C. Forman, *Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland* (Easton, 1934), pp. 28-29.

[15] Inventories, Liber 13, 79-92, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

piazza and to a stairway that gives convenient access to the southernmost bedroom. On most of the land side of the house are stone flagged loggias.

The house assumed its present shape and appearance with the changes made by Dr. Walter H. S. Briscoe subsequent to 1826. He covered the brick building with wide clapboarding whose prominent joints were so applied as to form a smooth surface. He carried the façade up to the full two stories by raising the roof of the three bedrooms and the hall on the river side. Even so, the entire house is not of great height. By the time of these changes the house covered much ground in its irregular plan and informal composition.

Briscoe tore down the Plater kitchen, where the present dining room is, and built one at right angles to the stone flagged piazza. This necessitated closing the easterly windows of the dining room. It is said that Dr. Briscoe built the hidden passageway in the Governor's study, entered through a concealed panel in the chimney corner, winding up an inside stairway encircling the chimney and leading out to the low slanting roof above. It has been described as a quick means of escape during the Civil War. Indeed it could prove useful under many circumstances.

An old tax list accounts for five outbuildings on Sotterley in 1798.[16] There is a fine old brick warehouse still standing in its original position, erected in 1757, with the date worked in brick on one end of the building. The smoke house, flanking the south side of the mansion, is also in its original place, next to the detached kitchen. It still contains an old brine trough hollowed out of a single log.

Two small buildings originally stood in the front yard or courtyard of the main house. One was used as a wine house and smoking room; the other as an office for the collection of customs duties. Dr. Briscoe moved the little customs house, where four generations of Platers had collected his Majesty's revenues for the Patuxent district, to the barnyard. It was long used as a tool shed. Mr. Satterlee also moved the wine house to the barnyard, and converted it into a granary.

The two gate houses at the entrance and the little tea house along the garden wall are typical of later 18th century building. Their hipped roofs and the curiously curved lines of the tea house

[16] Tax List for St. Mary's County, 1798, Maryland Historical Society.

closely resemble their counterparts at Mount Vernon. The old spinning house, near the smoke house, will soon be returned to its original location on the lawn.

James Bowles, who began the building of Sotterley, named his wife sole executrix of the estate according to his will, probated January 3, 1727/8.[17] But contrary to general belief, Rebecca Bowles did not, indeed could not, inherit her husband's estate, no less turn it over to her second husband under the laws then in effect.[18] She was given a life interest in the plantation in St. Mary's County and one-fourth of his lands already parcelled to his three daughters, taken where it would not be prejudicial more to one child than another if possible. The bulk of his property was divided fairly equally among his daughters. As Jane was the eldest, she was left what was probably the most valuable piece of land and the dwelling house, after the death of her stepmother, Rebecca Bowles Plater. In a letter to the Commissary General written three years after their father's death, it was revealed that Bowles' children were still in their minority, and that the greatest part of his personal estate was in England, subject to the direction of the High Court of Chancery there.[19]

In an elaborate inventory, drawn up by Bowles' executors, there appears a full account of his property, both real and personal, here as well as in England. From it a rough idea of the dwelling house can be pictured. The original furnishings are enumerated in great detail as well as other personal effects. The chattel property listed indicates that Bowles was farming a large part of his acreage; he also kept a goodly herd of livestock.[20] According to the summary of outbuildings, smoking meat, tanning hides, grinding corn and other grains, spinning and weaving were familiar processes to this nearly self-sufficient community.

Rebecca Bowles was still quite young when her first husband died. There followed a second marriage, to George Plater II, on June 10, 1729.[21] Plater's father had come from England around 1689. Both men held important positions in provincial government. Each was collector of customs for the Patuxent district. The

[17] Will Book, Liber 19, 300-303, Hall of Records, Annapolis. Lothrop Withington, "Maryland Gleanings in England," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, II (1907), 181-183.

[18] Land was then entailed, *i. e.*, limited to a particular heir or heirs.

[19] Testamentary Proceedings, Liber 28, 474-476, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[20] See Note 15.

[21] *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), June 17, 1729, p. 3.

younger Plater was a lawyer, as was his father, and most of his legal transactions were centered in Annapolis. Five children were born of this marriage: Rebecca, who later married John Tayloe of Mt. Airy, Virginia; Anne, who died while still young; George Plater III, born in 1735, later to become a Governor of Maryland; Thomas Addison Plater; and Elizabeth.

Mrs. Plater died sometime after 1742 and before 1749. Upon her death the estate reverted to Bowles' three daughters. Meanwhile, all three girls had grown up and married into prominent Virginia families. Jane, the eldest, married Ralph Wormeley of Middlesex County and went to live at Rosegill. Eleanor became Mrs. William Gooch of Williamsburg, and Mary married William Armistead of Gloucester County. Thus by 1749 all of Bowles' daughters were married and comfortably settled in Virginia.

George Plater now had the welfare of his own rather large family to consider. They were not only motherless, but according to law they were without a home. By this time Plater had been able to accumulate a small fortune, living as he had for all those years upon his wife's estate. Although he owned lands in other parts of Maryland, he was understandably attached to this house and prosperous plantation where his children had been born.

Plater might have remained on Bowles' Preservation, for by law he had the right of " curtesie " enabling him to live out his life's span as a widower under the terms of the life estate enjoyed by his wife. As it happened, he chose to approach his three step daughters and sound them out on their attitude toward selling their inherited shares in the St. Mary's property. Fortunately for him, the three young women in Virginia were quite willing to cooperate. For £300 Eleanor relinquished her holdings, which included Belcher's Neck, Half Pone, Scotch Neck, and a tract called Grantham in Kent County.[22] Mary Armistead received £210 sterling for Hector McLane's land, or Hector's, Hog Neck, and all the land on the south side of Resurrection Manor (probably parts of Fenwick manor purchased by Bowles).[23] In 1753, Jane Wormeley signed away her title to " all that tract of land, plantation, dwelling house and apurtenances whereon the said George Plater now lives in St. Mary's county . . . and all that land adjoin-

[22] Provincial Court Deeds, 14 Liber E I, No. 3, 1737-1744, April 27, 1744, 521-523, Land Office, Annapolis.

[23] Provincial Court Deeds, 15 Liber E I, No. 8, 1744-1749, September 27, 1746, 233-234, Land Office, Annapolis.

ing the said Plantation commonly called Mason's as also all the land where Doctor Mackgill lately lived . . ." for £500 sterling.[24]

Thus Plater completed a series of transactions which left him proprietor of nearly 3,000 acres of St. Mary's county alone; at the time of his death in 1755, we find him proprietor of some 5,000 acres in the county. The dwelling house begun by Bowles could now be completed and finished in the best architectural styles then current in the colonies. To crown the achievement, Plater gave the " Preservation " a new name, " Sotterley," derived from the older Sotterley in Suffolk county, England, the ancestral home of the English Playters, from whom he was descended.[25]

A comparison of the testamentary letters filed by George Plater I in 1707 and the will of his son, probated in 1755,[26] presents a revelation to one even casually interested in the fluidity of American society. Through a series of fortunate circumstances and prosperous marriages, Colonel Plater had risen to be one of the foremost landholders in the colony. He was able to bestow upon his children a rich patrimony, and he established the name Plater in Maryland so firmly that it became synonymous with efficient and effective public service as well as with the landed aristocracy.

Colonel Plater has been described as one of those " uncompromising individuals, endowed with a primitive force of character that often thrives under simple social conditions." He bitterly opposed innovations of any sort. The division of All Faith Parish was decreed by an act of the Assembly in 1744, and the formation of a new parish projected under the title of St. Andrew's. Plater urged that the Chapel of Ease, built for the convenience of the family, should become the parish church. With this in view he provided for his own burial in the chapel yard, and until recent years, a brick wall indicated the enclosure in which he and his wife Rebecca lay side by side.[27]

The Chapel of Ease, also known as the " Red Church " stood near " Sandy Bottom," on the western side of a public road leading from St. Joseph's Church to Oakville. It was known for many years as " the Four Mile Run Church." But its importance

[24] Provincial Court Deeds, 16 Liber E I, No. 9A, 1749-1756, November 29, 1753, 479-481, Land Office, Annapolis.

[25] Alfred I. Suckling, *History and Antiquities of the County of Suffolk* (London, 1846-1848), I, 86 *ff.*

[26] Testamentary Proceedings, Liber 19c, 257; Will Book, Liber 29, 466 *ff.*, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[27] H. W. Ridgely, *Historic Graves of Maryland* (New York, 1908), pp. 30-31.

dwindled away very soon after 1755, the year in which the Honorable George Plater was gathered to his fathers.

A vestry meeting was held under its roof as late as 1764, to arrange for the erection of St. Andrew's church. In 1769 a meeting was held at the new church where we find his son and heir, the future Governor George Plater III, eagerly bidding for pew number one. This he later held with Abraham Barnes. He also served as vestryman for the Church.

At the time of Plater's death in 1755, the newspaper carried the following:

> Saturday last, died at his seat in St. Mary's county, aged upwards of sixty, the Honourable George Plater, Esq. . . , who was for many years one of his Lordship's Council of State, Naval officer of Patuxent and lately appointed Secretary of the Province. A gentleman eminent for every social virtue, which would render him truly valuable. He was, as Horace says, *ad unguem factus homo*. As his life was a pleasure, so was his death a Grief to everyone who knew him.[28]

George Plater III, the Colonel's son, represented the best qualities characterizing the new generation and was the last of the three lineally successive Platers prominent in Maryland. He was graduated from William and Mary College in 1752. From 1757 onward he held a series of important offices including that of delegate to the lower house of the Assembly, 1757-1759; member of the Council, 1771-1774; Naval Officer of Patuxent district, 1767; member of the first Board of Trustees of Charlotte Hall, 1774; member of the Council of Safety for Maryland and President of the Constitutional Convention of 1788 in that state. In 1791 he was elected Governor of Maryland, the highest honor the state could confer on him.

Plater married Hannah Lee in December, 1762.[29] However, this marriage was of short duration for she died in September of the following year, leaving no issue.[30] He married secondly Elizabeth, the only child of John Rousby of Rousby Hall, Calvert county, and Anna, his wife, the daughter of Peregrine Frisby. The marriage took place in July, 1764. Six children were born to George and Elizabeth Plater before her death in November, 1789: Rebecca, who later married Philip Barton Key; George Plater IV; John Rousby Plater; Thomas; Anne, who later married Uriah Forrest; and William who probably died while still very young.

[28] *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), May 22, 1755, p. 3.
[29] *Ibid.*, December 16, 1762, p. 3.
[30] *Ibid.*, September 29, 1763, p. 2.

Plater was not destined to serve a long term as Maryland's governor. Ill health handicapped him all through his administration which was cut short by his untimely death after scarcely more than a year of service. He died at Annapolis, February 10, 1792, where he had been attending to his official duties. His death ". . . left a melancholy 'CHASM IN SOCIETY.'" [31]

Elaborate funeral services were conducted at Annapolis, with the customary pomp befitting his state. His remains were

> respectfully attended by the honourable members of the council, the officers of state, and a numerous company of citizens, to South River, on the way to Sotterly [*sic*] his seat in St. Mary's county, there to be deposited in the family vault . . .

just outside the palings of the rose garden.[32] Years later, Mrs. J. H. Lilburn remembered that her grandfather, Dr. Briscoe, would not allow his children or grandchildren to play under the cherry tree near the garden because he said Governor Plater was buried there.[33]

In his will, probated in 1792, we learn that Governor Plater left all his lands in other parts of the county and state to his sons, John Rousby and Thomas. To his daughters, Rebecca and Anne, he left each a thousand pounds.

His eldest son, George Plater IV, was the heir to Sotterley. He was born on September 21, 1766, and probably later attended William and Mary College as had his father before him. We find no mention of him in affairs of state except for an appointment as Naval Officer for the Patuxent district. In March, 1795, he married Cecilia Brown Bond, who must have been very beautiful for she was known as the "Rose of Sotterley." Their life was characterized, as tradition would have it, by gracious living, sporting, gaming, and lavish entertainments. During these years of the early 19th century, Sotterley saw its happiest, most carefree days. The large manor house continuously echoed the sounds of laughing voices, the footsteps of busy people, the music and gaiety of merry parties. During these years a son was born to Cecilia and George, to be the fifth in the line of a noted, respected Maryland family. In December, 1796, Cecilia Plater died. Two years

[31] *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, February 14, 1792, p. 3.
[32] J. W. Thomas, *Chronicles of Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore, 1900), p. 300. *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), February 16, 1792, p. 2.
[33] M. B. Croker, *Tales and Traditions of Old St. Mary's* (Reisterstown, 1934), pp. 34 *ff*.

THE DRAWING ROOM

THE STAIR HALL

Showing the Chinese Chippendale Rail

THE "GOVERNOR'S STUDY"

THE SITTING ROOM OR LIBRARY

later her husband married Elizabeth Somerville, a sister of Colonel Somerville of " Mulberry Fields." A daughter, was born to them; she later married her cousin, John Rousby Plater II.

Elizabeth was the last Plater bride to be brought to Sotterley. She survived her husband, who died in 1802. By his will she was given life estate in Sotterley, along with his chariot and other effects. After her death, the house went to his son by the first marriage, along with Half Pone and the other lands purchased from Jarboe and Eleanor Reed during his lifetime. To his daughter, Anne Elizabeth Plater, he devised all remaining lands in St. Mary's County.

George Plater V was evidently not as resourceful and provident a husbandman as his father and forefathers had been. Over a period of time the estate was allowed to deteriorate and in 1820 we find him mortgaging off parts of Sotterley to John Rousby Plater, Jr., for the loan of some $3,000.[34] Similar loans from Joseph Harris, Lewis Ford, and John Simms were made between 1821 and 1822, in consideration of parts of Fenwick Manor originally purchased by his great-great-grandfather.

Meanwhile, his half sister, Anne Elizabeth Rousby, had died, leaving her brother in full possession of all the lands she had inherited from her father. There being no other sisters or brothers, George Plater was in full possession of the vast estate comprising something over 5,000 acres in St. Mary's County alone. If the traditional legend is true, and it seems logical enough, we are told that Plater lost his patrimony at the gambling table to his brother-in-law, Colonel Somerville, builder of " Mulberry Fields " on the Potomac.

But whatever the reason, we find that, on July 6, 1822, in consideration of $29,000 Plater deeded over to Colonel Somerville

> all that tract or parcel of land which was willed the said George Plater, by his father . . . also all that tract . . . called Half Pone . . . also all those parcels of land . . . which he inherited by the death of his sister, Anne Elizabeth Plater. . . .[35]

Thus the estate passed from the hands of the Platers who had given it its name and from whom the mansion undoubtedly derived many of its architectural beauties. There is little trace of George Plater after the unfortunate sale of his birthright. We

[34] Deeds, Liber TH 29, 186, August 9, 1820, Land Office, Annapolis.
[35] Deeds, Liber TH 29, 335, Land Office, Annapolis.

do know that he spent some time at Charlotte Hall with Philip Briscoe, his cousin. Odd pieces of his furniture, including the ancestral tester bed, and a card table, were left there when he died. They were last known to be in the possession of a granddaughter of Philip Briscoe in St. Mary's County.[36]

The tales concerning the last of the Sotterley Platers are far fetched and incredible, including the lurid account of the last George's death. Intoxicated and half crazed with fever from pneumonia, he is said to have dragged himself through a rainy night the long distance from Charlotte Hall back to Sotterley, in order to die under the roof of his old home. He is said to have been found dead from exhaustion and exposure, in the shelter of one of the outbuildings, just a stone's throw from the mansion. So ends the dismal tale.

John Rousby Plater, Jr., transferred the mortgage he held on Sotterley to Colonel Somerville in 1822.[37] In the same month, Somerville in turn sold a large part of the plantation to Thomas Barber for $7000.[38] Other parcels, including parts of Fenwick Manor, were transferred at a later date.[39]

Thomas Barber subsequently married a widow, Emeline Wellmore Dallam, who had had a daughter by her first marriage, Emeline Dallam. Colonel Barber and the Widow Dallam had another daughter, Lydia Barber. Upon the death of the Colonel in 1826, he bequethed the plantation and all his furniture to the two girls. The property was partitioned in such a way that the eldest daughter, Emeline Dallam, received the mansion and about 425 acres. What remained of the original plantation, amounting to some 550 acres went to her half sister, Lydia Barber, who later married Colonel Billingsley. Their descendents are the Hutchins family, some of whom are still residents of St. Mary's county.

Emeline Dallam married Dr. Walter Hanson Stone Briscoe of a well known Southern Maryland family.[40] Sotterley remained in the hands of the Briscoes all through the Civil War, when that part of Southern Maryland was known as "Little Dixie." The

[36] Croker, *loc. cit.*
[37] Deeds, Liber TH 29, 342, Land Office, Annapolis.
[38] *Ibid.*, 362.
[39] Deeds, Liber TH 30, 1822-1825, 338-341; Liber TH and II 31, 1825-1831, 33, Land Office, Annapolis.
[40] His father, John Hanson Briscoe of St. Mary's County, had served as a surgeon to Colonel Smallwood's troops and the Second Maryland Regulars for the greater part of the Revolutionary War.

Briscoes had a large number of children which necessitated numerous alterations and additions to the original house. Dr. Briscoe farmed Sotterley as well as Half Pone.

Schools were few and inaccessible to the residents of this part of the rural South. Therefore, Dr. Briscoe decided to establish a small school for the benefit of his own and a few neighbor's daughters. Miss Mary Blades of the Eastern Shore conducted the classes in the old mansion. The Thomas girls came from Cremona and slept in the " long room " which Briscoe built over the drawing room. Sotterley must have provided a delightful setting for outdoor classes and games in the Spring.[41]

When Emeline Dallam Briscoe died she named her son, David Briscoe, sole executor of the Sotterley estate. He was instructed to convert the estate into cash to be equally divided among her children.[42] Accordingly, a public auction was held in August, 1890, at which the Rev. James Briscoe, one of her children, purchased the mansion and some four hundred acres of the original holding.[43]

Briscoe retained Sotterley until his death in March, 1904. He left two children, James Briscoe, Jr., and a daughter, Elizabeth, who married John D. Cashner. Both children were " tenants in remainder " on the property, according to the legal notices. On the 24th of April, 1905, James Briscoe and Sophia, his wife deeded all the undivided half interest in Sotterley belonging to them to Elizabeth and John Cashner who then became the sole owners of the mansion and over four hundred acres of the original tract.[44] Shortly thereafter, " Jim " Briscoe died.

The Right Reverend Henry Yates Satterlee, then Bishop of Washington, visited St. Mary's County occasionally to administer confirmation at William and Mary Church. He had an opportunity, on one of these trips, to visit Sotterley early in the 1900's and thereafter came to love the old place. He told his cousin, Herbert L. Satterlee, about it and soon thereafter, Mr. and Mrs. Satterlee paid their first visit to the Cashner-Briscoe home. They, too, fell in love with the quaint old manor house surrounded by

[41] A good account of Sotterley when it was used as a girls school is found in Croker, *loc. cit.*

[42] Will, Orphan's Court of St. Mary's County, 1887, Liber JBA, No. 1, 147-148, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[43] Extracts of Deeds, St. Mary's County, No. 6 (1869-1893), pp. 617-618, Land Office, Annapolis.

[44] *Ibid.*, No. 8 (1903-1906), p. 131, Land Office, Annapolis.

wooded country, picturing it as an ideal summer retreat. When, in 1910, Mr. Satterlee was notified of Mr. and Mrs. Cashner's willingness to sell, he and his wife left by boat and arrived at Leonardtown early in the morning. They hired an automobile and travelled the remainder of the distance to Sotterley where arrangements were made for its purchase that same year. Satterlee became the owner of some 425 acres along with the mansion, which had, for a century belonged to the Platers, and to the Briscoes for another hundred years. Mr. Satterlee made an attempt to reconstruct the boundaries of what had originally been Resurrection Manor. Thus, at the time of his death in 1947 he left over 1,000 acres and the mansion to his children. Sotterley is now owned by his daughter, Mabel Satterlee Ingalls of New York, along with about 500 acres of farm land.

Sotterley is quite unlike any other house in Maryland. There is an unparalleled character and charm about the old house which has survived the years admirably well and today stands proudly on its hilltop, alone with its memories and traditions.

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THOMAS GERARD AND HIS SONS-IN-LAW

By Edwin W. Beitzell

MARYLAND historians have given scant attention to one of the most important political figures and largest landholders in the province durng the period 1637-1673. He was Dr. Thomas Gerard, Gentleman, born about 1605, at New Hall, Lancashire, England, son of Sir Thomas Gerard. The Gerards were an ancient and distinguished Roman Catholic family of Lancashire. John Gerard, brother of Sir Thomas, was a Jesuit priest and was tortured in the Tower during one of the religious upheavals in England. He later founded a college at Liège. Frances, a daughter of Sir Thomas, became a nun at Gravelines in Flanders. The family history has been traced back to the time of the General Survey of the Kingdom in 1078.[1]

The first of the Gerards to arrive in Maryland were Richard and his sister Anne, the widow Cox. Anne later married Thomas Greene, the second governor of Maryland. They arrived with the first colonists who came on the *Ark* and the *Dove* in 1634. Richard return to England in 1635 and became famous in the service of the King. Thomas Gerard, brother of Richard and Anne, arrived in Maryland in 1637 and was chosen as a burgess from St. Mary's Hundred on February 19, 1638.[2] In England he had married Susannah, the daughter of Abel and Judith Snow. They had five children at the time of moving to Maryland and claimed 2,000 acres of land for transporting them into the Province.[3] Five more children were born to Thomas and Susannah after they were established in the Province.

[1] William Playfair, *British Family Antiquity* (London, 1811), VI. Horace Edwin Hayden, *Virginia Genealogies* (Washington, D. C., 1931), p. 490. Edwin W. Beitzell, "The Gerard and Cheseldine Families," MS in possession of the author, copy in Maryland Historical Society.

[2] *Archives of Maryland*, I, 29.

[3] The children were Susannah, Justinian, Frances, Temperance, and Elizabeth. Louis Dow Sisco, "Land Notes, 1634-1655," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, VIII (1913), 262. *Archives of Maryland*, XLIX, Letter of Transmittal, xxvi.

On March 16, 1639, Cecilius, second Lord Baltimore, erected St. Clement's Hundred and appointed Thomas Gerard as "Conservator of our Peace" within the Hundred.[4] Probably the first game conservation law in the Province was contained in this curious document, which provided that severe penalties were to be assessed against "all persons whatsoever that Shall unlawfully trespass upon any our game of Deer, Turkies Herons or other wild fowl or Shall destroy them their nests or eggs, either upon our Land or waters. . . ."[4] On November 3, 1639, the St. Clement's Manor grant was made to Gerard. This grant made him one of the largest land holders in Maryland, as has been noted by Dr. J. Hall Pleasants.[5] With subsequent additional grants of land, the Manor included the whole neck of land extending from the head of St. Clement's Bay over to the Wicomico River, totaling some 11,400 acres of land. Also included in the grant were the Heron Islands of St. Clement's, St. Katherine's and St. Cecilia's, afterwards called St. Margaret's.[6] The grant provided for the establishment of a Court Baron and a Court Leet and the records of St. Clement's Manor are the only ones of this unusual type of court proceedings known to be in existence in Maryland.[7]

In addition to the practice of medicine in both Maryland and Virginia, Gerard was active in provincial affairs from the time of his arrival. His selection as burgess from St. Mary's in 1638 has been noted. On July 19, 1641, he was chosen burgess from St. Clement's Hundred.[8] Sometimes between these dates he removed his residence to Longworth's Point (now known as Colton's and also Kopel's Point), a high bluff on St. Clement's Manor overlooking St. Clement's Island and commanding a sweeping and beautiful view of the Potomac River, St. Clement's Bay and the Virginia shore. Because of his duties at St. Mary's City, he retained a town house, Porke Hall, at the city.[9] It appears likely that the manor house at Longworth Point was erected about 1644, for on November 1, 1643, Gerard made an agreement with Cornelius Canedy, a brickmaker, whereby Canedy undertook to make

[4] *Archives of Maryland*, III, 89.
[5] *Ibid.*, LVII, Introduction, xlii.
[6] *Ibid.*, LI, 506.
[7] *Ibid.*, LIII, 627, and Introduction "Maryland Manorial Courts" by J. Hall Pleasants, lxi-lxv.
[8] *Ibid.*, I, 105.
[9] *Ibid.*, IV, 143; XLI, 265, 533, 544.

brick for Gerard for a period of three years.[10] This house was destroyed by Richard Ingle during the Ingle Rebellion.[11] The second house was destroyed by the British on June 13, 1781, during the Revolutionary War, and one of Gerard's descendants, Herbert Blackistone, was carried off as a prisoner of war.[12]

An incident that occurred on the morning of March 23, 1641, has been recorded in nearly every Maryland history while his many worthwhile contributions to the growth of the infant province and his achievements in many fields have been forgotten. A complaint by the Protestants against Gerard was read before the Assembly

> . . . for taking away the Key of the Chappel and carrying away the Books out of the Chappel and such proceedings desired against him for it as to Justice appertaineth [.]
>
> Mr Gerard being charged to make answer the house upon hearing of the Prosecutors and his defence found that Mr Gerard was Guilty of a misdemeanor and that he should bring the Books and Key taken away to the place where he had them and relinquish all title to them or the house and should pay for a fine 500l [pounds] tobacco towds the maintenance of the first minister as should arrive [.][13]

It is generally believed that the chapel mentioned is one Gerard erected on St. Clement's Manor, although the petition of the Protestants was presented by David Wickliff of St. George's Hundred which might indicate that the chapel in question was located in St. Mary's City or St. George's Hundred. In any event, Gerard, despite his prominence in the Province, was dealt with promptly and severely for his interference with Protestant worship. Although there has been much speculation as to the reasons for Gerard's closing the Protestant Chapel, no theory has been substantiated. Thomas Gerard was a Roman Catholic, but his wife and children were Protestants. It is a matter of record that Gerard erected a chapel on St. Clement's Manor for his family, friends, and servants. John Walter Thomas has written that this chapel was located on St. Paul's Creek, a little below the present All Saints' Protestant Episcopal Church and was the third Protestant church to be erected in Maryland.[14]

[10] *Ibid.*, X, 214; XLI, 52.
[11] Bernard C. Steiner, *Maryland During the English Civil Wars, Part II*, Johns Hopkins University Studies XXV (Baltimore, 1907), 54.
[12] *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 295.
[13] *Ibid.*, I, 119.
[14] *Chronicles of Colonial Maryland* (Cumberland, 1913), p. 198.

All Saints Church is located on Tomakokin Creek, now commonly called Cobrum Creek, approximately eight miles from Longworth Point, the original home of Gerard on St. Clement's Manor. The writer has been puzzled for some years as to why Gerard should have located the chapel, erected for his family, friends, and servants, eight miles from his manor house, in what was then the forest or backwoods, approximately ¾ of a mile from a boat landing. A review of the early Maryland maps at the Library of Congress answered this question. The Gerard chapel was not located near the present All Saints Church nor on St. Paul's Creek, for the only St. Paul's Creek was due to a mapmaker's error. St. Patrick's Creek is located about one mile from Longworth Point, the Gerard home, and this name is mentioned in the sale of 220 acres of land in 1666 by Gerard to Edward Connery.[15] The earliest Maryland map that shows the creeks in question is dated 1794 and gives the name St. Paul's Creek in error for St. Patrick's Creek.[16] This error was repeated on subsequent maps until 1840.[17] The error was repeated again on maps dated 1841 and 1852 but was finally corrected in 1865.[18] It appears correctly as St. Patrick's Creek on subsequent maps. It is apparent from this that the Gerard chapel was erected at the head of a branch of St. Patrick's Creek, in King and Queen Parish, about a mile from the Gerard home, which was convenient by land or water to the whole community living on this neck of land. On December 16, 1696, the Provincial Council ordered that

" the Vestry of King and Queen parish in S^{t} Maries County make inquiry of Cap^{t} Gerard Slye [grandson of Thomas Gerard] concerning one hundred acres of land, Said to be given to the Church by M^{r} Thomas Gerrard Senr. . . .[19]

Slye attempted to deny this gift but was unsuccessful. In 1750 the vestry of King and Queen Parish was authorized to sell the glebe land given by Gerard and to purchase a glebe nearer the center of the parish.[20] The Maryland Assembly, on June 1, 1750,

[15] *Archives of Maryland*, LVII, 283.
[16] Library of Congress, Maps Division, *Map of Maryland, 1794 Issued by U. S. Constitution Sesquicentennial Commission.*
[17] *Ibid., Map of Maryland 1840 by John H. Alexander.*
[18] *Ibid., Map of Maryland 1865 by S. J. Martenet.*
[19] *Archives of Maryland*, XX, 584.
[20] Historical Records Survey, Works Project Administration, *Inventory of Diocese of Washington Archives. The Protestant Episcopal Church* (Baltimore, 1940), I, 232.

in view of a petition that " the Parish Church therein is so situated that the said Petitioners cannot, without riding a great Distance, attend the service of God there " authorized the purchase of one acre of land near *Tomachokin* Run for a *Chapel of Ease*.[21] It is evident from this that the Gerard chapel was not located on Tomakokin Creek, the present site of All Saints Church, but was located away from the center of the parish, namely down near the tip of St. Clement's Manor and undoubtedly on St. Patrick's Creek. Also it would appear that the Gerard chapel was standing in 1750 and continued to be the Parish Church for some years. Eventually it disappeared and its location was forgotten. But history has a way of repeating itself for in 1895 an Episcopal Mission House was opened at Colton's (Longworth's) Point.[22] In 1900 the parochial chapel of St. Agnes was erected near Palmer's on St. Patrick's Creek, undoubtedly near the location of the old Gerard Chapel.[23]

Considerable difficulty with the Indians on St. Clement's Manor was experienced by the colonists, particularly in the stealing of cattle and corn, which caused Lord Baltimore on October 29, 1642, to grant a commission to Gerard to take whatever action (including " the killing any of them if it shalbe necessary ") that might be required to put an end to the trouble.[24]

On November 17, 1643, Lord Baltimore appointed Thomas Gerard as a member of the Provincial Council for " his diligent endeavors for the advancem[t] & prosperity " of the colony.[25] Other appointments and commissions followed, such as one to look after his Lordship's property and another to advise concerning Indian problems and the like.[25] Gerard continued as a member of the Council until the time of Fendall's Rebellion in 1659 and also served as a Judge of the Provincial Court during this period.

It is apparent that Gerard, as a member of Lord Baltimore's government, suffered damage at the hands of Richard Ingle during Ingle's Rebellion in the year 1644-1646 because after the difficulties he obtained through court action part of Ingle's loot in settlement of his claim. Gerard was then sued by Thomas Cornwaleys

[21] *Archives of Maryland*, XLVI, 476-477.
[22] *St. Mary's Beacon*, Leonardtown, Oct. 4, 1895.
[23] *Inventory of Diocese of Washington Archives, op. cit.*, I, 233.
[24] *Archives of Maryland*, III, 119.
[25] *Ibid.*, III, 138, 140, 145, 150, 159, 163, 293.

who claimed that he had prior right to recover from Ingle.[26] This dispute dragged through the courts for several years.

Thomas Gerard, as is borne out by the *Archives of Maryland* not only was active in the practice of medicine, as a member of the Council, and a judge of the Provincial Court, but he was also an able farmer, a manufacturer of liquors, particularly peach brandy, and a breeder of fine cattle. Apparently he was also an excellent sailor for many of his trips between Longworth Point and St. Mary's City were made by boat, although the type of boat is not mentioned, in the *Archives*. He might also be described as one of the first realtors in Maryland for in the proceedings of the Provincial Court one finds records of the sale or transfer of many parcels of land.[27] Owing to his many activities he was involved probably in more court actions than any other man of his time. Perhaps this is the reason that he provided in his will that

> if itt shall hereafter happen att anytime that any ambiguity doubt question or controversie do grow or rise concerning the true meaning and intent of this my will and testament I will therefore that my executor and executrix choose each of them a judicious person and according to their verdict let the doubt and dispute be ended without comenceing a suite att law.[28]

During the Puritan uprising (1654-1656) Gerard was appointed one of Governor Stone's captains. He took part in the battle at Herring Creek where he was captured with the rest of Stone's force. Although quarter had been promised, four of the men were executed by the Puritans and Gerard narrowly escaped with his life.[29] After the difficulties with the Puritans had been resolved, Gerard returned to his duties as a member of the Council under the governorship of Josias Fendall.

One of the men executed by the Puritans was William Eltonhead, a member of the Council and a close associate of Gerard. There are indications that Eltonhead married Jane, the daughter of Thomas Gerard, but conclusive evidence is so far lacking. Mrs. Jane Eltonhead, the wife of William, is a fascinating character and her life, if the whole story could be pieced together, would be a highly colorful one. Jane (nèe Gerard?), as it appears from the record, married first Thomas Smith (Smyth) who was cap-

[26] *Ibid.*, X, 218.
[27] *Ibid.*, XLI, 143, 188; XLIX, 573-582, 586-587; LVII, Introduction xlii, xliii, 220-226, 330-333, and *passim*.
[28] Wills, Vol. I, f. 567, Hall of Records, Annapolis.
[29] David Ridgely, *Annals of Annapolis* (1841), pp. 51-53.

tured by Governor Leonard Calvert after the reduction of Kent Island and hanged as a pirate for his part in leading the attack on the fleet of Captain Thomas Cornwaleys.[30] She was left a widow with two daughters, Gertrude and Jane.[31] Soon afterwards she married Captain Philip Taylor, who was an associate of her former husband and indicted with him, but who was lucky enough to avoid hanging. Apparently he died a natural death prior to 1649 and left two children, Sarah and Thomas.[32] Sometime after this, Jane married William Eltonhead of his Lordship's Council and became sister-in-law of Cuthbert Fenwick, who had valiantly fought her two previous husbands as Lieutenant of Captain Cornwaleys in the good pinace called the St. Margarett ". . . in the harbour of great wighcocomico in the Bay of Chesapeack on the tenth day of may in the yeare of our Lord one thousand six hundred thirty and five." [33] As we know, Jane soon lost her third husband, on March 28, 1655, after the battle at Herring Creek. There seems to have been no issue from this marriage as Jane testified that William Eltonhead

> left all his Lands, w[th] all his other goods & Chattles to her disposing, for the good of her, & her Children, & desired her to allow unto Robert ffenwick and Richard ffenwick [nephews] some part of the Lands, according to her discretion. . . .[34]

It is interesting to note that Culthbert Fenwick's will [35] was witnessed by Elizabeth Gerard, a daughter of Thomas Gerard and that both the Gerard and Eltonhead families were from Lancashire. It is difficult to piece together these ancient records, particularly so in the case of Jane Eltonhead who is often confused with her sister-in-law, Jane Eltonhead Fenwick.

On October 5, 1658, Thomas Gerard was the central figure in another religious controversy for on that date the Attorney General of the Province preferred charges against Father Francis Fitzherbert, S. J., that

> . . . he hath Rebelliously and mutinously sayd th[t] if Thomas Gerard Esq[r]

[30] *Archives of Maryland*, I, 16-19, 466; IV, 23, 527; LVII, Introduction xliv, 249; Emerson B. Roberts, "Captain Philip Taylor and Some of His Descendants," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIII (1938), 282.
[31] *Archives of Maryland*, IV, 507; LVII, 249.
[32] *Ibid.*, IV, 23, 507, 527.
[33] *Ibid.*, IV, 23. See also *ibid.*, IV, 527; X, 496; XLI, 178, 261, 263.
[34] *Ibid.*, XLI, 178; see also, XLIX, 206.
[35] *Ibid.*, XLI, 263.

(of the Councell) did not come & bring his Wife & Children to his Church, he would come & force them to his Church, Contrary to a knowne Act of Assembly in this Prouince [.] [36]

[In his testimony,] Thomas Gerard Esq[r] sayth uppon oath, That hauing conference w[th] M[r] ffitzherbert as they were walking in the woods, & in his owne Orchard, Touching the bringing his children to the Roman Catholique Church, Hee gave m[r] ffitzherbert reasons, why it was not safe for himselfe & this Depon[t], And the s[d] m[r] ffitzherbert told this Depon[t] That hee would compell and force them & likewise he sayd, th[t] hee would excommunicate him, ffor hee would make him know th[t] hee had to doe w[th] the bringing up of his Children, and his Estate.[37]

Gerard's testimony that it was not safe for him or Father Fitzherbert if the children were brought to the Catholic Church is inexplicable. Whether this religious difficulty carried any weight in Gerard's decision to break with Lord Baltimore in 1659 (Fendall's Rebellion) is problematical. The chances are that it did not because the Court adjourned before the case was completed, and it was not finally settled until 1662 when Father Fitzherbert was acquitted.[38]

On the same day that Gerard's religious difficulties with Father Fitzherbert were aired, Richard Smith, the Attorney General also made some very serious charges against Gerard before the Council.[39] He was accused of violating the secrecy of the Council, of saying that Governor Fendall was a tool of the people of Anne Arundel and was not above helping himself to the Provincial revenues, that Capt. Stone, Job Chandler, and Dr. Luke Barber were secretly playing into the hands of Richard Bennett, Lord Baltimore's opponent, that the whole Council was a bunch of rogues and he would not sit with them. Finally he was accused of drunkenness. Gerard asked for and was granted time to answer the charges against him, but the Attorney General let the suit drop. This caused Gerard to write a letter of complaint to Lord Baltimore who ordered the Council to give him satisfaction.[40] It is of interest to note that in connection with the charge of drunkenness, Henry Coursey testified that

he was on board of Covills ship with M[r] Gerrard that the said Gerrard had drunke something extraordinary but was not so much in drinke but he could gett out of a Carts way & further saith not [.] [41]

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[36] *Ibid.*, XLI, 144.
[37] *Ibid.*, XLI, 145.
[38] *Ibid.*, XLI, 566.
[39] *Ibid.*, III, 354.
[40] *Ibid.*, III, 384.
[41] *Ibid.*, III, 357.

Whether the other charges against Gerard were true or not is unknown as the Council did not pursue the matter. Probably there was a good deal of truth in the charges since they had been overheard at the home of his son-in-law, Robert Slye, at Bushwood.

In view of the long, trusted, and friendly relationship between Gerard and Lord Baltimore, extending over a period of more than 20 years, it is difficult to understand how Gerard could have thrown in with Fendall when the show-down came in 1659. Certainly he had no love for the Puritans of Anne Arundel (who sided with Fendall), after his experience at Herring Creek in 1655 when several of his close associates and friends were executed and he himself narrowly escaped the same fate. Keeping this fact in mind it is easy to understand the statements attributed to him in the charges before the Council. In the absence of any of his personal papers (which the writer is still endeavoring to locate) perhaps the best conjecture has been made by F. E. Sparks, in his book *Causes of the Maryland Revolution of 1689*, wherein he states

> The real causes of the disturbance that now arose [Fendall's Rebellion] are scarcely explained by Maryland historians. Governor Fendall is charged with being the chief cause of the Rebellion. It is true that Fendall tried to keep in favor with the party of resistance [the Anne Arundel Party] and that he was intimately connected with Gerard whose party was destined to triumph in 1689; but it was really the question of taxation that caused the so-called Fendall's Rebellion. It is sometimes said it was a Puritan movement, and so it was in one sense; but Gerard who seemed to be the real leader, was a Catholic who had been and was then a member of the Council. In 1647 an act was passed by the Assembly granting the Proprietor a duty of ten shillings on every hogshead of tobacco exported from the province. This act, by the admission of the Proprietor, was the cause of complaints.[42]

Actually, Lord Baltimore had written Fendall a letter concerning the possibility of an Act for a duty of two shillings on every hogshead of tobacco exported to any port in Great Britain or Ireland and of ten shillings exported to any other port.[43] Fendall, in order to promote the rebellion, advised the Assembly and the people that Lord Baltimore had ordered that if this Act was not passed, then he, Fendall was to put into execution the Act for Customs of 1646 (which had never been in force) for the pay-

[42] Johns Hopkins University Studies XIV (Baltimore, 1896), 501.
[43] *Archives of Maryland*, I, 420.

ment of ten shillings per hogshead on all tobacco exported out of the Province. In reality also, Lord Baltimore had written Fendall to ask the Assembly to repeal the Act for Customs of 1646 and provide instead a straight duty of 2 shillings per hogshead of tobacco, which fact as Lord Baltimore later wrote, " he wickedly concealed from the people." [44] It is significant that Gerard in his petition for a pardon, after the Rebellion, used the following words ". . . vpon mature deliberacon [being] Sensible that through Ignorance something hath been done by him whilst this Province was without Government," which indicate that he may have been taken in by Fendall.[45] At the same time it would appear that the Assembly also was deceived because the Speaker delivered a paper to Fendall which read

> Whereas the howse hath had certaine information that the Lord Proprietary hath sent to the Secretary a Warrant and demand annexed to it to repeale the Act of Ten shillings p hogshed. The Howse doe therefore desire and request the said warrant and demand be exhibited to the publick viewe of this Assembly forthwith.[46]

There is no record that such a paper was produced, and since Lord Baltimore had directed the letter to Fendall, he must have concealed it.

Another event occurred in 1659 which may have influenced Gerard in his decision to break with Lord Baltimore. He had, in the right of his wife, laid claim to 1,000 acres of land (Snow Hill) which had been granted in 1640 to Abel Snow, his brother-in-law, who was now deceased. The land was repossessed by Lord Baltimore under the Act for Deserted Plantations and had been granted by him in 1652 to Richard Willan and James Lindsey. Apparently there had been litigation for sometime. Finally Philip Calvert, Secretary of the Province, appealed the case to Lord Baltimore who ruled against Gerard and in his own favor.[47] It should be remembered also that only a few years had elapsed since the time of the Ingle Rebellion and the Puritan Uprising and that the government of the Province was far from secure. Under such conditions there was a great temptation for any strong man to take the Government into his own hands rather than again risk the loss of all his possessions.

It seems fairly evident that Gerard faced such a dilemma, with

[44] *Ibid.*, I, 421.
[45] *Ibid.*, XLI, 429.
[46] *Ibid.*, I, 383.
[47] *Ibid.*, XLI, 265, 373.

at least some fancied justification for his action. After he had reached a decision, it is evident that Gerard maneuvered to have the Assembly and the Council meet at a location where he would have a better opportunity to dominate the meetings. The ideal location was at St. Clement's Manor, which was far removed from the usual meeting place, St. Mary's City, and where Gerard would be sure of the attendance of all his friends and adherents. The first and second meetings were held at the Gerard home at Longworth Point on February 28, 1659.[48] All subsequent meetings including the final meeting were held in the home of Robert Slye (Gerard's son-in-law) at Bushwood on St. Clement's Manor.[49] During a period of two weeks a struggle went on beween the upper and lower houses of the Assembly. The lower house claimed themselves to be a lawful Assembly without dependence on any power in the Province and the highest Court of Judicature. There was considerable maneuvering back and forth between the two houses. Finally Fendall on March 13, 1659, came out in the open, taking the position that the burgesses (by the intent of the King in Lord Baltimore's patent) could make and enact laws by themselves and publish them in the name of the Proprietor. He contended such laws would be in full force, provided they were agreeable to reason and not repugnant to the laws of England. The Secretary, Philip Calvert, brother of the Proprietor, of the upper house declared that it was not in the power of the burgesses by themselves without assent of the Lord Proprietary or the Governor to enact any laws. Calvert then proceeded to poll the upper house or Council. In addition to Fendall and Calvert only four members were present: Gerard and Col. Nathaniel Utie supported Fendall; Baker Brooke and John Price supported Calvert. The following day Fendall expressed himself as being willing to sit with the lower house as Governor on their terms. Calvert and Baker Brooke " departed the howse (after leave asked) and given in these words or to this effect (vizt) you may if you please, wee shall not force you to goe or stay, uttered by the Governor [.] " [50] The Rebellion was on.

The Rebellion collapsed after May, 1660, when Charles II returned to the throne of England and the Proprietor was restored to favor at the Court. Lord Baltimore, in a furious letter dated August 24, 1660, instructed his brother Philip Calvert, then

[48] *Ibid.*, I, 382. [49] *Ibid.*, I, 383-391. [50] *Ibid.*, I, 391.

Governor, to deal harshly with Gerard, Fendall, Hatch, Slye, and others who took a leading part in the revolt. They could be sentenced to death, be banished from the Province and suffer the loss of all their property.[51] Gerard's manor lands and other property were seized, and he was banished. He retired temporarily to his lands near the Machodoc River in Westmoreland County, Virginia, a 3,500 acre holding, known as Gerard's Preserve.[52] In a few months, however, he applied to the Maryland Council for a pardon which was promptly granted. He was restored to citizenship in the Province but forbidden to hold office or to have a voice in elections. His lands and other property were restored to him.[53] It is significant that while Fendall was required to pay a fine of 50 pounds Sterling, Gerard was required to pay 100 pounds Sterling and 5,000 pounds of tobacco, and, in addition, required to post 10,000 pounds of tobacco as collateral for his good behavior.

After the restoration of his estates Gerard returned to live in Maryland, where he continued his practice as a physician, looked after his lands, and completed more sales of property. His large family consisted of three sons and seven daughters. Perhaps this is why St. Clement's Manor was often referred to as Bedlam Neck. He had many friends on both sides of the Potomac River, and several of his daughters married Virginians. In addition to enjoying the favorite provincial drink of "burnt brandy," Gerard was not averse to cards and dice. One incident in the latter game resulted in a law suit which is recorded in the *Archives of Maryland*.[54] In 1666, after the death of his wife, Susannah, to whom he was very devoted, Gerard moved to his lands at Machodoc, in Westmoreland County, Virginia.[55] A fine old two-story brick house, set between two outside chimneys still stands there. The original widely overhung eaves of the hipped roof have been changed in recent years. The home is now owned by Mrs. Margaret A. Roberts. John Gerard, the only grandson is credited with having erected this house about 1685.[56] It was here that

[51] *Ibid.*, III, 396.
[52] L. D. Gardner, "The Garrett Family of Louisa County, Va.," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series 2, XII, 13. Mrs. Nell Marion Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers* (Richmond, 1934), pp. 198, 324, 424, 532.
[53] *Archives of Maryland*, III, 406-407.
[54] *Ibid.*, XLI, 585.
[55] *Ibid.*, LVII, Introduction, xlii.
[56] *Virginia, A Guide to the Old Dominion* (New York, 1940), p. 557.

Thomas Gerard together with Henry Corbin, John Lee, and Isaac Allerton, " that never-to-be-forgotten quartette of Bon-Vivants," entered into a contract in 1670, later recorded, to build a " Banquetting House " at or near the head of Cherive's (now Jackson's) Creek, where their estates joined. It was agreed that each party to the contract should " yearly, according to his due course, make an honorable treatment fit to entertain the undertakers thereof." [57] Bishop Meade cited this as an example of " riotous living." [58] After settling at Machodoc, Gerard married Rose Tucker, a widow with two children: Rose who married [———] Blackistone and Sarah who married William Fitzhugh.[59] Gerard died here in 1673, but in compliance with a request contained in his will, his body was taken to Longworth Point, his old home in Maryland, and buried there in the private burial grounds by the side of his first wife, Susannah.[60] This private cemetery still existed until a few years ago when one of the late owners of the land threw the tombstones over the bank into the Potomac River and leveled the plot. Not satisfied with this act of desecration, it has been reported that a guest at the hotel there at that time was permitted to open one of the graves and remove a skull. In a terrific storm in the summer of 1933 the hotel was wrecked and much ground washed away so that now there is no evidence whatsoever of the original Gerard home or burial grounds.

Although Gerard made elaborate provisions in his will for any children that might be born of his second marriage there was no issue. The children of his marriage to Susannah Snow were as follows: [61]

1. Justinian, married Sarah ————, widow of Wilkes Maunders [62]
2. Thomas, married Susannah Curtis [63]

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[57] " Extracts from County Records," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, VIII (1901), 171-172.

[58] *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia* (Philadelphia, 1857), II, 146.

[59] " Letters of William Fitzhugh," *Virginia Magazine*, I (1894), 269. L. G. Tyler, " Washington and His Neighbors, " *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series 1, IV (1896), 35, 41.

[60] Tyler, *ibid.*, 82-84.

[61] Beitzell, " The Gerard and Cheseldine Families."

[62] Tyler, *op. cit.*, 36. W. F. Cregar and Christopher Johnson, " Index to Chancery Depositions, 1668-1789," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXIII (1928), 312, 319.

[63] *Ibid.*

3. Susannah, married (1) Robert Slye [64]
   (2) John Coode [65]
4. Anne, married (1) Walter Broadhurst [66]
   (2) Henry Brett [66]
   (3) John Washington [66]
5. Frances, married (1) Col. Thos. Speake [67]
   (2) Col. Valentine Peyton [67]
   (3) Capt. John Appleton [67]
   (4) Col. John Washington [67]
   (5) Wm. Hardwick [67]
6. Temperance, married (1) Daniel Hutt [68]
   (2) John Crabbe [68]
7. Elizabeth, married (1) Nehemiah Blackistone [69]
   (2) Ralph Rymer [69]
   (3) Joshua Guibert [69]
8. Jane or Janette married ————
9. John, married Elizabeth ———— [70]
10. Mary, married Kenelm Cheseldine [71]

None of Gerard's three sons long survived him. John died first, prior to 1678, leaving a son John and daughter Rebecca, who married Charles Calvert (Governor of Maryland, 1720-1727) in 1722.[72] The second John had no sons and his only child, Elizabeth, married Benedict Calvert in 1748.[73] Since his uncles died

[64] *Archives of Maryland*, XLIX, 576. "Notes and Queries," *Virginia Magazine*, III (1895), 322.

[65] *Archives of Maryland*, XX, xiv; XXIII, 443.

[66] Tyler, *op. cit.*, 35, 76. "Historical and Genealogical Notes," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series 1, XVII (1908), 226. L. G. Tyler, "The Good Name and Fame of the Washingtons," *Tyler's Quarterly Magazine*, IV (1922-1923), 322. "Historical and Genealogical Notes," *ibid.*, IX (1927-1928), 70.

[67] Tyler, "Washington and His Neighbors," *op. cit.*, 36. "The Hardwick Family," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series 2, III (1923), 99. "Sturman Family Notes," *ibid.*, XVII (1913), 11.

[68] Tyler, "Washington and His Neighbors," *op. cit.*, 36. "Virginia Gleanings in England," *Virginia Magazine*, XX (1912), 294.

[69] *Archives of Maryland*, XXII, viii, LI, xlvi. J. W. Thomas, *Chronicles of Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore, 1900), p. 13.

[70] Tyler, "Washington and His Neighbors," *op. cit.*, 36. "Notes to Council Journals," *Virginia Magazine*, XXXIII (1925), 300.

[71] Thomas Gerard in his will, probated October 19, 1673, left his daughter Mary, "White's Neck," "Mattapany," "St. Katherine's Island," "Westwood Lodge" (100 acres), and "Broad Neck." In the will of her husband, Kenelm Cheseldyne, dated December 6, 1708 (on file in the Hall of Records, Annapolis), he left the same tracts of lands to their son, Kenelm II, and daughter, Mary.

[72] "Historical and Genealogical Notes," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series 1, V (1897), 142. Gardner, "Garrett Family," *op. cit.*, 13.

[73] Tyler, "Washington and His Neighbors," *op. cit.*, 35-36, 80, 87. "Historical and Genealogical Notes," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series 1, V (1896), 68-69.

without issue, the Gerard family name became extinct at his death. However, others of the Gerard name, probably of the same family in England, survived and it is likely that they descended from William Gerard, who obtained a grant of 125 acres of land in Westmoreland County on January 31, 1716.[74] The family name continues in England and the present holder of the title is Baron Frederick John Gerard, M. C., of Lancashire. Thomas Gerard, Jr., was given Basford Manor and Westwood Manor by his father. He sold Basford Manor to Gov. Thomas Notley in 1677 and upon his death in 1686, since he died without issue, Westwood Manor passed to his brother, Justinian. Justinian was left St. Clement's Manor (those portions not already settled on his sisters) by his father. He died without issue in 1688 and left everything to his widow, who later married Michael Curtis. They sold both Westwood and St. Clement's Manor to Charles Carroll on May 18, 1711.[75]

Two of Gerard's daughters married Col. John Washington, the great grandfather of George Washington, although he had no issue by either of them.[76] The first was Anne Gerard who married him in 1669. After her death, Colonel Washington married her sister, Francis, on May 10, 1676. She survived Colonel Washington and then married for the fifth time. A great granddaughter of this fifth marriage, Anne Aylett, married in 1743 Augustine Washington, a brother of George Washington. It is interesting to note that Col. John Washington came from Lancashire, England, as did the Gerards. Possibly the families knew each other there.

Temperance Gerard married Daniel Hutt of Virginia. Hutt was originally a New England sailing master and was convicted in 1659 of illegally trading with the Indians in Maryland and his bark, the *Mayflower*, was confiscated through action of the Provincial Court. Although not an inhabitant of the Province at this time, he was present at the sessions at St. Clement's Manor and Bushwood which preceded Fendall's Rebellion. Subsequently he was master of vessels engaged in the Barbados trade and made

[74] "Notes to Council Journals," *op. cit.*, 300.

[75] D. M. Owings, "Private Manors: An Edited List," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIII (1938), 311, 319.

[76] Tyler, "Washington and His Neighbors," *op. cit.*, 35. "Historical and Genealogical Notes," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series 1, XVII (1908), 226. R. M. Hughes, "Some Notes on Material Relating to William and Mary College," *ibid.*, Series 2, III (1923), 99. Tyler, "Good Name and Fame," *op. cit.*, 322.

his home in Virginia.[77] After the death of Hutt, Temperance married John Crabbe, a prosperous Virginia merchant.[78]

Walter Broadhurst who was the first husband of Anne Gerard first appears in the Maryland records in 1642 and was closely associated with Thomas Gerard from this time until he moved to Westmoreland County, Virginia, in 1657. He appears to have been an adherent of Capt. Edward Hill, following the Ingle Rebellion. Their son, Walter, returned to England where he married and had a family; he there died in 1707. Henry Brett the second husband of Anne, whom she married in 1665 or 1667, was a Virginian. He died prior to 1669. There was no issue. As previously mentioned Anne's third husband was Col. John Washington of Virginia.[79]

The first and fifth husbands of Frances Gerard, Col. Thomas Speake and William Hardwick (Hardidge), were closely associated with Walter Broadhurst and Thomas Gerard, father of Frances. Both Speake and Hardwick are first mentioned in Maryland records in 1642 [80] when they were sent with an expedition of soldiers to Kent Island. Subsequently Hardwick, Broadhurst, and Gerard testified against Richard Ingle and a warrant was issued to Hardwick to arrest Ingle for high treason. They testified to Ingle's traitorious utterances when his ship lay anchored at St. Clement's Island, just off Longworth's Point.[81] Gerard was amply repaid by Ingle later when he burned Gerard's home. Undoubtedly Hardwick and Broadhurst were subjected to like treatment. It was noted that Broadhurst, like Gerard, became involved with Cornwaleys in the effort to recover property after the affairs in the Province had quieted down. After Colonel Speake's death, Frances married Col. Valentine Peyton, a Virginian, and moved there.[82] After Colonel Peyton's death, she married Capt. John Appleton, another Virginian, who died in 1676, whereupon she married Col. John Washington. Upon the death of Colonel Washington, she married William Hardwick, who had moved

[77] *Archives of Maryland*, XLI, 287, 302, 344, 410.
[78] Tyler, "Washington and His Neighbors," *op. cit.*, 36. "Westmoreland County Records," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series 1, XV (1906), 191.
[79] *Archives of Maryland*, II, 234, 324. Tyler, "Washington and His Neighbors," *op. cit.*, 35.
[80] *Archives of Maryland*, III, 119-122.
[81] *Ibid.*, II, 234, 237; IV, 231-233.
[82] Tyler, "Washington and His Neighbors," *op. cit.*, 36.

to Nomini in Virginia in 1650. Hardwick was described by Nathaniel Pope, formerly of Maryland but then of Virginia as "a well-beloved friend." [83]

There are indications that Janette or Jane Gerard, another daughter of Thomas Gerard, married William Eltonhead, who was shot after being captured during the Puritan uprising, although there is much confusion on this score. Some writers have indicated that she married Richard Eltonhead and others that she was the first wife of Cuthbert Fenwick, famous in early Maryland history, who subsequently married Jane Eltonhead, the sister of William Eltonhead. There were so many Janes and so many marriages that it will probably take another 300 years to completely unscramble them.

Robert Slye married Susannah Gerard who was the eldest of the Gerard girls.[84] She was given Bushwood Manor by her father at the time of her marriage. Bushwood Manor subsequently descended to her son Gerard and grandson George, who willed it to his nephew, Col. Edmund Plowden.[85] Robert Slye, although he was the son-in-law of Thomas Gerard, accepted a position on the Puritan Council and as a Commissioner of the Province in 1654-1655.[86] This action within the family gives some idea of the turmoil in the Province during this period. As previously noted the Assembly met at Slye's home preceding Fendall's Rebellion, and there is no doubt that he played an important role in this uprising also. Although Slye died considerably before the Rebellion of 1689, the family penchant for rebellion was to be carried on, this time strongly and successfully. According to Sparks' theory it was a continuation or revival of the so-called Fendall Rebellion of 1659. After the death of Robert Slye, Susannah married John Coode who organized and led the successful rebellion of 1689.[87] His chief lieutenants were two other Gerard sons-in-law, Kenelm Cheseldine and Nehemiah Blackistone. Kenelm Cheseldine married Mary, the youngest daughter of Thomas Gerard. Her dowry included St. Katherine's Island, Whites Neck, Broad Neck, Westwood Lodge (100 acres), and

[83] *Archives of Maryland*, X, 39, 122.
[84] *Ibid.*, XLIX, 575.
[85] Helen W. Ridgely, "*Historic Graves of Maryland* (New York, 1908), p. 30. *Archives of Maryland*, LIII, lxv.
[86] *Archives of Maryland*, III, 315; X, 412.
[87] *Ibid.*, XX, xiv; XXIII, 443.

Mattapany. The latter tract of land should not be confused with Mattapany-Sewell on the Patuxent River.[88] Nehemiah Blackistone married Elizabeth Gerard, whose dowry included St. Clement's Island, Longworth Point (the original Gerard home on St. Clement's Manor), and Dares Neck. She subsequently married Ralph Rymer and Joshua Guibert, both of Maryland.[89]

The history of the Protestant Rebellion of 1689 and the activities of Coode, Cheseldine, and Blackistone are too well known to be repeated here. The details may be reviewed in the *Archives of Maryland* of this period. The success of this rebellion put an end to religious freedom in Maryland for almost eighty years. It was not until the American Revolution that Maryland again became the "Free State." Strangely enough, within a comparatively few years after the Rebellion, the Coode, Cheseldine, and Slye families were brought into the Roman Catholic Church. This was the work largely of a great missionary priest of early Maryland history, Father William Hunter of the Society of Jesus.[90] George Slye built the first Sacred Heart Church at Bushwood, which is mentioned in his will dated in 1773.[91] He is buried there as are many of the Cheseldine family. Many of the Coode family also are buried in the Sacred Heart cemetery and at old St. Inigoes in the lower part of the County. Most of the Coode descendants are now living in Nashville, Tennessee. Many of the Cheseldine descendants are still living at White's Neck and in nearby Washington. This is true also of the Blackistone descendants. In recent years the beautiful old Blackistone home at River Springs has been restored and one of the family now owns Upper Brambly, which adjoins Bushwood. The original name was Bromley, named by Thomas Gerard after one of the Gerard family manors in England.

[88] See Note 71.
[89] Christopher Johnson, "Blackistone Family," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, II (1907), 57, 58, 177. See also Note 69.
[90] *Archives of Maryland*, XXIII, 448, 463. Ridgely, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
[91] St. Mary's County Will Records, Court House, Leonardtown.

SILAS WARNER'S JOURNAL

By George B. Scriven

WHEN Mr. and Mrs. Charles Poor of Darlington in Harford County were remodelling their place "Windfall" a few years ago, their young son Lane discovered two old account books in the attic.[1] The house where they were found was originally a Warner property along Pedler's Run on the road between Darlington and Dublin and is known locally as "the old Harry place." The two 8 inch by 13 inch paper bound books proved to be the day books of a country store for the year 1804, 1805, and 1806, and contain over three hundred pages of entries which reveal much about the way people lived in Harford County a century and a half ago. One volume has lost its title page but the other is titled *Silas Warner's Journal.*

No location for the store is indicated in the books nor has any record of it been found elsewhere. However, the names of the customers show that it must have been somewhere between Deer Creek and Broad Creek, and not many miles back from the Susquehanna River. Since there was a highway between Baltimore and Philadelphia in 1804 which went through Dublin and crossed the Susquehanna near Castleton, a location on that route seems likely.

Although the Revolution had ended British rule over twenty years before the time of this journal, and the Philadelphia mint had been coining silver and gold sparingly for fourteen years, country people seemed to prefer to hold to the old method of counting and the books were kept in British pounds, shillings, and pence. Records such as that of Noble's Mill [2] indicate that it was not until the War of 1812 that local businesses began to keep their accounts in dollars and cents. The city merchants seem to have changed more rapidly, as in his dealings with Baltimore wholesalers Warner bought from about half of them in dol-

[1] One volume is in the possession of Mr. and Mrs. Poor, the other in the possession of Mr. Samuel Mason, all of Darlington.

[2] Local mill records now in the possession of Mr. Samuel Mason.

lars and cents. Ninety British pence then equalled one dollar: that is, a dollar was worth seven shillings and six pence, which was written 7/6.

The store often acted as a bank where transactions were carried out on paper instead of by cash. Some customers traded in their produce for credit at retail price. A sum was sometimes credited to one man and debited from another's account. For a modest discount the store would lend as much as a hundred dollars. Those who needed long term credit were charged a small interest for it. Apparently not everyone's credit was good as on one occasion Dorothy Webster bought three pounds of sugar and a twist of tobacco and left as security " one morocco pocket book with appurtenances."

The store served as an outlet for many articles which were produced locally. Brooms were sold by Isaac Wells and Jerry Kenly, Isaac Massey sold spokes, James Bevard sold staves and Samuel McKisson sold spools. Thomas Fisher sold a hickory tree for 7/6. Vinegar was sold by Richard Ward, stockings by Samuel Rogers. Joshua Husband bought hides and sold leather. Brandy, which was the only liquor sold by the store was produced by Ruban Jones, Stephen Norton, and John and William Forsythe. Apple brandy was made by William Prigg and peach brandy by Mary Foster.

In addition to the spare time occupations just mentioned there is reference to many which must have been full time trades. William Ellett and John Robinson were coopers, Richard Diggins was a wheelwright though he also did other work, Joseph Scarborough mended chain, so he was probably a blacksmith, James Penick and Stephen Norton were shoemakers, Asaph Warner [3] repaired watches, Sarah Warnock and Charles Bevard were were weavers. The store bought assorted earthenware in dozens from James Orr, a local potter who made pots, pans, bowls, porringers, and jugs as well as chamber pots in two sizes. Joseph Wiggins must have been a cabinet maker as he got two pounds for making a walnut table. John Fisher and Samuel Webster were school masters. Ely Balderston, Asey Warner, William Albert and Joseph Roper were teamsters who did hauling from Baltimore.

[3] A local silversmith who was uncle to A. E. Warner, the well-known Baltimore silversmith.

Shipping by water was then more common than hauling by wagon so it is surprising that Warner's freight did not come by water to Lapidum at the fall line of the Susquehanna river. However, there is no record of Warner's freight coming that way, though there are numerous mentions of hauling from town. One item shows that " town " was wherever the firm of Gerard and William Hopkins was located. Since Gerard Hopkins was the Baltimore merchant at 3 Calvert Street, who later took his young relative Johns Hopkins into business with him, the identification is complete. There are entries of supplies bought from John Robinson at 216 Market Street in Baltimore, and from Meeteer and Armstrong, Abraham White and Sons, Jeremiah Hoffman and Thornburgh Miller and Webster, all of whose addresses may be found in the Baltimore Directory for 1804. Baltimore was then a growing town of thirty thousand inhabitants. Warner also bought dry goods from John Archer's store at some location not designated. Twenty-eight pounds of freight was hauled from Baltimore to Warner's store for a little more than a shilling, while a barrel of sugar was hauled for seven shillings and a half, which was a dollar in United State money.

In Silas Warner's time a woman's labor was worth two shillings a day, while day laborer's pay for a man averaged three shillings. Mowing, hoeing corn, and making shingles sometimes brought as much as five shillings a day. Some men who were more skillful than others were paid accordingly. John Forsythe, for example, got a shilling a day more than others while making shingles. It is curious to note that although Silas Warner and many of his customers were Quakers there was no hesitation in collecting money " at meeting " or " on the way to meeting " as many such entries occur.

Typical purchases were small, such as ¼ lb. of powder, 1 lb. of shot, one gun flint, ¼ lb. of tea, ½ lb. of chocolate, or a full pound of coffee. People often bought only one pint of honey, two pounds of sugar, one handkerchief, one wine glass, or one dose of medicine. The total bought at any one time was usually recorded in shillings or even in pence. A few large purchases are shown, some amounting to as much as ten pounds at a time. When accounts ran high it was usually for clothing. However, it was common to buy at one time only the cloth, and even the thread, which was required for one garment. Cloth was some-

times sold in quarter yard lengths, while materials such as fancy velvet went in even smaller pieces. Yard goods were carried in great quantity compared to other items. Silas Warner carried a stock of 46 different kinds of cloth, ranging in price from a shilling a yard up to broadcloth at nearly two pounds a yard. In addition to yard goods and the small materials required for sewing, the items of clothing carried were combs, gloves, handkerchiefs, fans, hats, shawls, stockings, shoes, and slippers.

Words sometimes change their meaning or become obsolete in a century and a half, so it is not surprising to find a few peculiar words in Warner's accounts. When William Prigg bought "a pair of one-eyed spectacles" it did not mean that he was blind in one eye or that he got a monocle. The "one-eyed" is simply a designation of the small size of the cheap magnifying lenses which he bought. Hair combs in that day were fine, half-moon, or crooked. A stick of Black Ball was not licorice as one might suppose, but was shoe blacking. The tierces which Mary Fitzgerald sold were barrels made out of hand riven staves such as a local cooper might make. A tea board was probably just a tea table. A "jackett patran" was not a pattern for a jacket but was the materials from which the jacket was made. We are on more familiar ground when we find that he sold Barlow knives.

Medicines were mentioned fairly often. A dose of salts could be bought for four pence and a dose of castor oil for eleven, while a dose of tartar which served much the same purpose came at five and a half pence. "Anti-billious Pills" which were a compound cathartic sold at a little less than two shillings for half a box. Brimstone (which was sulphur) and Copperas (which was iron sulphate) were bought by the ounce for making tonics at home, but a nauseous combination of jallop and calomel was brought at the store by the dose. Peruvian Bark (quinine) was used for all sorts of fevers and was bought by the ounce. Alum, turpentine, chalk, and saltpetre were also kept in stock for those who needed them.

The comparatively small number of foods sold show how much was produced locally. Sugar, pork, bacon, cheese, and fat all sold for a shilling a pound, while butter and raisins were a bit higher. Beef and mutton were three and four pence a pound. A shilling would buy either a chicken or a dozen eggs, though eggs were lower in price during April. Tea which was carried in three

brands, Suchong, Young Hyson, and Imperial, ranged up to fifteen shillings for a pound. Molasses and honey were each a shilling a pint. Salt, pepper, nutmegs, ginger, cinnamon, allspice, dried peaches, and a rice were also available.

Produce traded in at the store shows that buckwheat, clover, corn, flax, oats, potatoes, rye, turnips, and wheat were grown locally. The many purchases of tobacco by the twist indicate that tobacco, which had been a major crop here fifty years before, may not have been grown locally at this time. Horses, cattle, sheep, and chickens are mentioned and also beef, mutton, butter, eggs, fat, tallow, sheepskins, and hides.

Near the end of the second volume there is a page of entries for the year 1808 which is labelled " Strangers " which seems to mean transients. It shows that one could buy a piece of pie for two pence, and a quart of milk for three. Breakfasts ranged in price upward from sixpence. " Breakfast with coffee and fry " was nine pence, and " Breakfast with short cake and fry " was a penny more. Dinners ranged in price from four pence to a shilling. Suppers, tea suppers, and meat suppers were available, the tea supper being highest in price at nine pence. A feed of corn, or of feed straw and chopped rye, was five and a half pence, and a horse could be pastured for three pence a day.

The second volume of Silas Warner's Journal had a number of spare pages at the end which were appropriated later for miscellaneous items. On January 1, 1837, William Warner used them for keeping a diary. Since it was winter he spent a lot of time " setting by the fire." He also records that he sat by the stove, sat in the house, sat in the house and read, sat in the house and wrote, and sat in the house and talked things over. However, there were times when he was up and doing. He also records that he hunted rabbits, went a-gunning, went to the fulling mill, went to Meeting on time for once, went to Darlington, went to Stafford, went to meeting at Deer Creek, went to the mill, hauled pug to William Wilson's and went to a " vandieu," (vendue or auction sale). Once he went to a meeting when E[lias] Hicks was present. Often he " hauled manore " unlike the Pennsylvania Quaker who refused to soil his ground with the filthy stuff. On January 25th he records that it was cold and cloudy, and that after night " there was a grat northern light from west to east, being very read." In January he worked in the shop and drew

the pork. In February he spent several days " treading off oats." In March he was busy felling trees, cutting and splitting cooper's stuff, pointing rails, and building both stone and rail fences. At the end of March he planted peach trees, commenced plowing, and as he began to sow clover, oats and potatoes, the entries become occasional and then cease.

In 1834 the Bank of Maryland failed, and there was rioting in the streets of Baltimore, a local reflection of a condition of over-expansion and troubled economic conditions which were soon to influence the whole nation. The effect upon a country merchant is shown in a sour note dated July 5, 1837, which is found on a page near the end of the volume. It reads as follows:

> We are in a pretty Stat of affarrs—All the Banks Suspending Specie payments, when according to the Bentonian policy the united States was to be over run with gold and silver, but for sooth, the government is bankrupt, the enter prising merchant and mechanic hav failed and dismay is portrayed on the faces of thousands. We say let the united States Bank be rechartered and down with the Specie Circular.

More than three hundred and fifty names are found in Warner's Journal, most of them being names of people who had accounts with him. Negroes are mentioned but slaves are not. Black Rachael Coale had an account as did Negro Bett. Since the land records of the county show the manumission of slaves by Wilsons, Worthingtons, and others near the year 1800 it is likely that the resident population of free negroes was increasing.

The only religious grouping which is indicated is shown by the Quaker references.

Few German names are found in the accounts, though one might have expected more. Many Irish names are shown those beginning with " Mc " numbering nineteen. The majority of the names are English ones, but at least one Welshman must have been present as William Williams was credited with one and a half pence " by a miftake."

These two volumes written by a country storekeeper nearly a century and a half ago as his simple business records have preserved for us much detail of the daily lives of the people who lived in that section of Maryland so long ago.

AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF "PARSON" WEEMS[1]

Edited by ALEXANDER M. SAUNDERS

IN an unpublished collection of letters[2] to Elias Hicks (1748-1830), the founder of the Hicksite branch of the Quakers, is a letter of Mason Locke ("Parson") Weems in an unknown hand[3] addressed to "Dear Friend," ostensibly Hicks, requesting his aid in disposing of his books on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. The letter is indisputably genuine and fills a gap in Weems' itinerary in Georgia in the latter part of March, 1822.

During the first four months of 1822 Weems was selling in South Carolina and Georgia his own works and the publications of the Philadelphia printer and bookseller, Matthew Carey (1759-1839),[4] for whom Weems sold books for over thirty years. In a letter from Charlestown (February 19) he asks Henry C. Carey, the brother of Matthew: ". . . what think you of my spending all the summer & Fall in this country and in the western parts of S[outh] Ca[rolina] & Georgia?" He writes again from Coosawatichie [sic], Georgia (March 11) and twice from Savannah

[1] Mason Locke Weems (1759-1825) was born at "Marshes Seat," near Herring Bay, Anne Arundel County. He was ordained in the Episcopal Church in 1784 and served in All Hallows and St. Margaret's parishes, Anne Arundel County, from that year until 1792. See *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIX, 604-605; Lawrence C. Wroth, *Parson Weems, A Biographical and Critical Study* (Baltimore, 1911); and Harold Kellock, *Parson Weems of the Cherry Tree* (New York, 1928).—EDITOR.

[2] 218 letters by 94 correspondents, dating from 1781 to 1830, in the possession of a collateral descendant of Hicks, Mrs. LeRoy Newell of Glen Head, New York, who has given me gracious permission to reproduce this letter. Hicks' answers to the above 94 correspondents are in the unpublished collection of Hicks' letters at Swarthmore College.

[3] It is unstamped and evidently a copy of the original, possibly by one of Hicks' daughters or by an amenuensis employed by Weems. The letter may have been enclosed in a blank cover-sheet which has been lost.

[4] See Paul Leicester Ford's edition of Weems' letter in *Mason Locke Weems: His Works and Ways*, edited by E. E. F. Skeel (New York, 1929), III.

March 14, 23). On the latter date he states to Matthew: "In 3 days I go to a Court at Darien [below Savannah]—shall come back, God willing [and] go to the Sea islands among the *rich planters*, thence go up the country. . . ." Shortly after he went "up country," for he writes from Augusta on March 26. There he remained at least a fortnight, since he writes again from Savannah on April 10. The unpublished letter is as follows:

Augusta, 26 Mar. —22.

Dear Friend,[5]

Knowing that thou art a sincere Lover of Human Happiness, I feel confidence to write to thee again. Thou must know that I have long look'd on the People of this my native land as a People greatly, yea most extraordinarily favor'd of God, and now furnished with a fair opportunity to display all the Virtues and felicities that Rational Beings are capable of in a State of perfect self controul uncrush'd by Kings & uncorrupted by Hireling Priests. But great & welcome as these privileges are, they will never be profitable to their proper & glorious ends of making ourselves a Mighty People in Peace & Happiness, and of exciting others to the same, unless we FEAR *God & walk in his statutes of Justice & Mercy*; because 'tis these things alone that "*Exalt Nations*" by binding them together in the golden bonds of mutual brotherly esteem & love, thereby rendering them perfectly secure from divisions within and violence without. Being deeply sensible of this, I have for many years past—and I thank God for setting me on this work—I have for many years been endeavouring to shew our countrymen, & particularly our *young* Countrymen, the importance of the Virtues to our national Existence & Happiness, and the disgracing & damning effects of the opposite vices. And remembering too that in giving us men like Moses, Joshua &c. of old, to break the yoke of the British Pharoah & settle us in this favor'd Canaan, God was pleased to Select Men such as Geo. Washington, Ben. Franklin & Francis Marion, remarkable for the purity of their virtues. I have set forth the Biographies of these men[6] to shew the youth of our Land the Blessings resulting from imitating their examples—and knowing too that DRUNKENNESS, GAMBLING, DUELLING, &c. &c. are the Rocks that wreck & ruin thousands in the *giddy & inexperienc'd morning of life*. I have drawn up strong *Biographical Pictures*[7] of the complicated Curses of giving way to such *Base & Cowardly* vices.

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[5] The use of Quaker terms, such as "thou" and "thee," is to be noted throughout the letter, although Weems is not consistent in their use.

[6] *The Life and Memorable Actions of George Washington* (Philadelphia, 1800?), *The Life of Gen. Francis Marion* (Baltimore? 1810?), *The Life of Doctor Benjamin Franklin* (Baltimore, 1815). For publication data, see Ford, *op. cit.*, I, 2-141, 391-398.

[7] He refers to the pamphlets *God's Revenge against Gambling* (Philadelphia, 1810?), *The Drunkard's Looking Glass* (Philadelphia? 1812?), *God's Revenge*

The above publications have received the warmest commendations of the wise and religious of our Country. I am now engag'd in making an extensive circulation of them. And as I well know that you wish to be aiding and assisting to promote Wisdom and Morals, among all, but particularly among the YOUNG, I have now to beg of *you*, and none ARE BETTER QUALIFIED THAN YOU, to give me the names of some *safe* & *influential* Merchant in Princess Anne, Salisbury, Vienna, Cambridge, Ta[l]bot C[ourt] house, Mead of Choptank, Denton, &c. &c. &c.[8] that you think would afford a good chance to circulate these pieces. 'Tis thro' the aid of Public Spirited Merchants that I do so much. I do it on terms *fair* & of *reciprocal advantage*, viz. the books are sent at my *cost & risk*—the unsold taken back—& a commission *given* of 15 per. cent. But besides the opportunity which your trade with those places affords you, you have numerous friends who also have dealings with them, hence I say, none is better qualified to give me the name of some *safe* & *influential* Merchant there & in any *other town* you are acquainted with. If thou wilt do this, & write me immediately, to Augusta, in Georgia, and also tell me of some good person, who will receive the boxes into some small corner in his warehouse till opportunity of a *boat offers to send them on*, thou wilt exceedingly oblige me. And if thou couldst take them, I would not only thank thee but make thee any compensation that thou shouldst think meet. In thy letter to me, to Augusta, give me *freely* thy opinion of my life of Wm Penn [9] & point out any fault or error that I may correct it. In each box I mean to send some of his excellent Examples. Thou hast acquaintance too, perhaps, with several towns up in the Country, such as Liberty, &c. &c.

With sentiments of high esteem I remain

thine truly M. L. Weems.[10]

On getting thy Letter with the names aforesaid I shall write to those Gentlemen whom it would incline the more strongly to co-operate with me if they were told that their names were given me by some respected friend, as thy self or any valuable man of thy acquaintance. Thou wilt therefore oblige by subjoining to the name this note " mentioned to thee by such or such a person ["]—a friend of his—or any thing in that way.

thine M L W.

Please send no name but such as is indubitably *safe*. I *have lost much*.

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against Duelling (Georgetown, D. C., 1820). See also *God's Revenge against Murder* (Dumfries, 1807) and *God's Revenge against Adultery* (Baltimore, 1815) in Ford, *op. cit.*, I, 188-202, 234-243, 399-401.

[8] Places on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. Weems made visits to Quaker settlements in Maryland in 1798, 1813, and 1822. See his *Journal* (New York, 1832).

[9] *The Life of William Penn* (Philadelphia, 1822), which was copyrighted on January 10, 1822.

[10] The reply, if any was made, has not been located.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Virginia Gazette Index. By LESTER J. CAPPON and STELLA F. DUFF. Williamsburg: Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1950. 2 vol., ix, 1, 314 pp.; and *Virginia Gazette* of Williamsburg, 1736-1780, on microfilm, 6 reels, 35 mm. Index, $60; microfilm, $50; both, $85.

American historical scholarship is heavily indebted to Dr. Cappon and his assistants for bringing to a successful conclusion this enormous work of indexing which was initiated some eight years ago under the direction of the late Hunter D. Farish. How difficult the achievement was may be imagined if one thinks only of the problem of preparing and seeing through the press 1,314 folio pages in triple column and small type! The newspapers themselves covering roughly a period of forty years are from two groups—(1) a photostatic collection of 1,510 weekly issues prepared some years ago by the Massachusetts Historical Society and (2) 193 additional issues sought out by the editors, one of which was located too late to be indexed although it is included in the film.

The editors have wisely "envisioned the *Index* to be a historical work of reference rather than an alphabetical list of names and places with some obvious subject headings thrown in for good measure." However, subjects are not absolute and limited, as are names and places, so that a certain amount of selectivity was found necessary even in a work of such ample proportions; and perhaps in this case it will turn out to be the names and places which will prove to be of most usefulness. This is not the fault of the editors but of the newspapers and ultimately of the taste of the reading public of that period.

The advertisements, which occupy more than half the journals, are necessarily of a local nature: runaway slaves, horses found, ships to depart, stallions at stud, etc. Exceptions are extremely rare. Local news is sketchy and, for the most part, trivial. News from some of the other colonies, especially from the ports, is a little better except for Maryland which hardly made the news at all. News from abroad was given in much more detail but so far as historians are concerned this is wasteful, for no one is likely to choose the *Virginia Gazette* as source material for the history of Poland or Malta. This reviewer, who has long been an advocate of preparing an index of this kind for the *Maryland Gazette*, has come to doubt after weeks of reading the *Virginia Gazette*, whether the real additions to historical knowledge would justify the enormous cost in time and money of such a project. (A comparison of one year's issues of both

journals showed a larger proportion of local news in the *Maryland Gazette* but this favorable ratio may not have been maintained for long.) The index volumes are sturdily bound and suitable for library use. It is to be regretted, however, that lithoprinting, restricting as it does the number and kinds of fonts of type, makes the index difficult to use where there are many subheadings.

While the index is, of course, the major contribution, the film itself is of great value. It was a difficult filming project because, contrary to the case of the *Maryland Gazette*, there were at times two and even three newspapers all using the same name. A list of the publishers and their dates is given in the Preface to the Index and an invaluable checklist of every issued located is given at the beginning of reel 1 of the film. It would have been better to present this list in the index volume because referring from one reel of film to another is an awkward procedure. At the Hall of Records this problem has been solved by making projection prints of the microfilm list.

Such a checklist is especially necessary in this case because of the arrangement which the editors have chosen. For the first thirty years—1736-1765—there is no problem because there was only one *Virginia Gazette*. After that period there were always at least two competitors and sometimes three. It would have simplified the cataloguing task of the librarian if one publisher's work had been filmed and then another, and so on. The student, aided by such a catalogue would have been able to find his way about without too much difficulty. For the student, however, the optimum arrangement would have been to film every issue for a given day and pass on to the next. The editors have chosen rather to film one year of one publisher, then the same year of the second and then of the third, if there is one. No justification is given for this arrangement, and none is obvious. The student's difficulties in handling this arrangement is made greater by the inadequacy of the labelling of the film boxes which give simply the first and last issues on the reel. The filming itself is far from being technically perfect, but with only one or two exceptions every page is readable.

MORRIS L. RADOFF

Hall of Records, Annapolis

Calendar of Maryland State Papers, Number 4, Part 1, The Red Books. (Publication of The Hall of Records Commission, No. 7.) Annapolis: 1950. x, 281 pp. $2.

Practically all of the original thirteen states along the Atlantic seaboard, have at one time or another issued publications containing the texts or abstracts of their earlier archives. The publication projects in some of these states may have been more ambitious in their conception but none have maintained the consistant high quality of scholarly editing or regularity of publication of the invaluable *Archives of Maryland* series. Recent years have witnessed, with a good degree of regularity, the equally valuable

publications of The Hall of Records Commission of the State of Maryland under the aegis of Dr. Morris L. Radoff, Archivist.

The latest volume in this series, the seventh, makes available in well abstracted form a rich collection of the important state papers of Maryland for the period 1773 to 1827. The collection, including Executive Correspondence, Council of Safety Minutes, Communications with Congress and other states, and correspondence of Maryland Delegates in Congress, is especially full for the years of the Revolution and through the early Federal period to 1801. Mr. Skordas, Mr. Thomas, Miss Gardner, and their collaborators have calendarized the documents in a manner to convey all the essential information and some of the flavor of the original text within the confines of the abstracts. The editors have carefully supplied identifications of names and places wherever possible and they have further enhanced the text by indicating previous publication of any of the documents. The volume is made easily usuable not only by its chronological arrangement but also by the comprehensive name and place index as well as the Finding List which correlates the abstracts of the *Calendar* with the documents in the Red Book series. Scholars of American history should certainly be grateful for this and the other volumes of the series.

LEON DEVALINGER, JR.

State Archives of Delaware

Diplomacy and Indian Gifts. Anglo-French Rivalry Along the Ohio and Northwest Frontiers, 1748-1763. By WILBUR R. JACOBS. Stanford Univ. Press, 1950. 208 pp. $5.

Professor Jacobs has chosen the fifteen years when the Indian was most important as a factor in the struggle for a continent for a detailed study of the role of "presents" in the system of alliances and understandings between the red man and the white. Perhaps "system" carries too sharp a connotation for the mercurial relations between Indian and European. Certainly "presents" cover more than ordinarily indicated by the term, which here includes virtually all forms of payment to individuals and whole tribes: gaudy finery for ceremonial wear, money subsidies to military allies, and piles of merchandise in exchange for hunting grounds. Yet to the Indian, unaccustomed to the cash nexus, these presents were a necessary lubricant to the wheels of diplomacy and spoke clearly when lips failed to convey meaning. "They were used for peace, for reward, for requests, for declaring war, as a tribute, as a mark of distinction, as a bribe, for thanks, and as a token of friendship." Both the French and the English expended huge sums on gifts in an attempt to enlist support for the contest which was to decide the possession of the great valley beyond the mountains.

The four initial chapters present a compact statement of the place of "presents" in Indian culture, compare the centralized French with the haphazard English administration of Indian relations, and finally estimate

the effect on the red man of his acceptance of rum and gimcracks as well as the useful articles such as tools, weapons, textiles and even foodstuffs.

The second division of the book is a chronological account of the years 1748-1763 with special emphasis on the Indian as a factor in deciding the success of the contestants in controlling the eastern Mississippi Valley. Both sides courted tribes on the frontier with presents and, where these failed, exerted naked force to gain their assistance. Whole tribes and confederations became pawns in a game running through a maze of schemes and counterplots, of councils and treaties, all to the accompaniment of the ubiquitous "presents."

On two questions of interpretation, the decisiveness of presents in determining native allegiance and the weight of the red man in tipping the balance of war, some differences are permitted. Admitting the importance of the Indian warrior and the influence of presents in winning his aid, the reviewer feels that the author's account implies larger claims than warranted.

Marylanders who find the action of this monograph centering around Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New York, will recall that the struggle with the Lord Proprietor focussed local attention on constitutional rather than military and diplomatic affairs during the whole period covered by this volume. With the failure of Governor Sharpe to find a formula of agreement between the elected assembly and the proprietary establishment the prospect of a major contribution to the larger international rivalry disappeared. In earlier years the absence of Indian troubles in Maryland may be attributed partially to the policy of purchasing Indian lands and pacifying offended natives with presents.

Detailed documentation and an index add to the usefulness of this volume. Seven illustrations and the adaptation of the John Mitchell map of 1755 reproduced inside the front and back covers enhance the physical appearance.

AUBREY C. LAND

Vanderbilt University

The Know-Nothing Party in The South. By W. DARRELL OVERDYKE. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1950. x, 322 pp. $4.

The theory that Know-Nothingism represented an attempt to compose the steadily increasing sectional animosities in the 1850's by focusing national political attention on the "immigrant menace" is by no means new. However, never before has this contention been so convincingly documented.

In surveying the history of the Southern branch of the Native American party, the author is at his best in tracing the reasons for its downfall. Mr. Overdyke shows that, although the initial successes of Know-Nothingism were based upon a nationally appealing anti-foreign platform, this movement was forced to enter the slavery controversy to compete favorably

for major party status. Once infected by the slavery issue, the Native American party was doomed because of the inability of its Northern and Southern elements to agree upon a common policy in regard to the South's "peculiar institution." In addition, the work includes interesting sections on the development of politically organized anti-foreignism in this country and on the use of newspapers by Know-Nothings. One outstanding by-product of the book is the author's vivid illustration of the hurly-burly politics of the 1850's through extensive references to the contemporary campaign literature, cartoons, and songs. The volume aids immensely in tempering the charges of intolerance and exclusiveness directed against the party by revealing the serious problems posed by immigrant groups and the early discarding of secrecy in the operation of the party.

One regrets that not one paragraph of the book is devoted to the cleavage between Northern and Southern Whigs which was so important to the development and dissolution of Know-Nothingism. Except for some noticeable omissions in the index and a few undocumented quotations, the book is all but technically perfect. The over-all excellence of this work suggests that the writing of a companion survey of the Native American party in the North, or, even better, an up-to-date, comprehensive history of the party is in order.

DONALD R. MCCOY

The National Archives

Constantino Brumidi. Michelangelo of the United States Capitol. By MYRTLE CHENEY MURDOCK. Washington: Monumental Press, Inc., 1950. xvi, 111 pp. $10.

This beautiful book with many fine reproductions in color and half tone of Brumidi's frescoes is the culmination of Dr. Murdock's interest in the artist and his work which began fourteen years ago when she first accompanied her husband, John R. Murdock, Congressman from Arizona, to Washington. Greatly impressed with the frescoes and murals of the Capitol, not only for the beauty of their execution but for their deep historical significance, she was amazed that information about them was so meagre and that still less was known about the artist who created them.

Dr. Murdock's story of her long search for more precise information about this almost forgotten man and his works is most interesting and her account of a chance meeting with a great-niece of Brumidi's American wife at his unmarked grave is quite dramatic.

Seldom is enthusiasm for a subject so completely vindicated and research so richly rewarded as in the publication of this book which tells of the middle-aged Roman artist who for political reasons sought refuge in America and in 1857 became a citizen of the United States. Brumidi so truly loved the country of his adoption that he labored for twenty-five years on his decorations for the Capitol, striving to make it increasingly beautiful and to make a permanent record of scenes of great historic

moment. His name is found on the pay rolls of the Capitol until a few months before his death in 1880. His paid vouchers which amount to slightly over $80,700 prove the great scope of his work.

The book is well documented. Dr. Murdock's championship of Brumidi awakened new interest in the man and his art which resulted in the discovery of forgotten material and a wealth of new evidence of his ability as an artist. It is safe to predict that Brumidi's name will not be forgotten again. Soon he will receive national recognition from Congress which has voted to place an appropriate marker on his grave in Glenwood Cemetery, but his own unsurpassed frescoes will always be his true and finest memorial.

The Monumental Press has every reason to be proud of producing this distinguished and outstanding book.

EDITH ROSSITER BEVAN

Makers of History in Washington 1800-1950. Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1950. 174 pp.

In connection with the Washington Sesquicentennial last year, an exhibition of outstanding historical portraiture was held at the National Gallery of Art. The publication *Makers of History in Washington 1800-1950,* as a catalog to the exhibit, contains portraits of the eminent persons who have had an important role in historical events in the City of Washington.

Among the 142 dignitaries represented are presidents and their wives, and architects, artists, and planners of the Federal City. Best of the earlier portraits are Gilbert Stuart's Vaughn-Sinclair type "George Washington," Mather Brown's renowned painting of "Thomas Jefferson," "Alexander Hamilton" by John Trumbull, and the "Marquis de La Fayette" painted by Samuel F. B. Morse. Other well-known examples include Thomas Sully's portrait of "Andrew Jackson," "Woodrow Wilson" by Sir William Orpen, and Douglas Chandor's likeness of "Franklin Delano Roosevelt," completed shortly before the President's death. Of special interest are the four Maryland-born representatives: Commodore Stephen Decatur, Archbishop John Carroll, Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, and Shakespearean actor Edwin Booth.

Even more striking than the persons they portray, this group of paintings represents a microcosm of the history of American portraiture, with works of most well-known artists included. Although undoubtedly enriched by the experience of seeing the actual exhibition, the publication presents in an interesting manner a chronological, pictorial summary of prominent Americans who helped to plan, shape, and defend the Nation's Capital.

BENNARD B. PERLMAN

The Johns Hopkins University

The Mariners' Museum, 1930-1950. A History and Guide. (Museum Publication No. 20.) Newport News, Va.: Mariners' Museum, 1950. 264 pp. $4.

This is a handsome and finely illustrated volume of 264 pages, not only giving a history of the Museum, but serving as a general guide to visitors. It is to be regretted that the space limits of such a work and the enormous amount of material to be covered, precludes more than a skimming of the surface. If it should influence more of the public to visit what is the finest maritime museum in the United States, if not in the world, it will justify its publication. It is unfortunate that the museum is somewhat inaccessible by public transportation, but whatever effort is put forth in visiting it is well repaid. The museum has a remarkably fine collection of figureheads; some of them are illustrated. Perhaps the oddest of these is shown with the caption "Victorian Lady." Its most curious feature however, is not very apparent in the illustration. The lady is dressed in a costume of the 1880's and is carrying a closely rolled umbrella, probably to protect her dress from spray. The eagle from the U. S. S. *Lancaster*, also shown, is one of the most impressive figure-heads ever carved. It has the tremendous wingspread of eighteen feet, and towers high above the head of the visitor. Another of the many unique exhibits is the solid silver model of the steamboat *Commonwealth*, which not only operates and plays ten different tunes, but unlike most models produced by silversmiths, is an accurate scale model which does not offend the trained eye. The nautically minded should by all means see this book, and if possible visit the museum. Even those only mildly interested in the sea will be repaid.

WILLIAM CALVERT STEUART

General Charles Lee: Traitor or Patriot? By JOHN RICHARD ALDEN. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1951. xiv, 369 pp. $4.75.

John Richard Alden has written another sound biography of a military figure in the American Revolution. Mr. Alden, whose *General Gage in America* reinterpreted the work of the first British commander in chief of the Revolution and rehabilitated Gage's reputation, has tried to do the same service for Charles Lee—Englishman, soldier of fortune, and Major General in the Continental Army. Lee, who might have been (and in his own opinion should have been) the first American commander in chief, has been generally neglected by historians. In spite of Lee's high rank and important offices in the early days of the Revolution, Mr. Alden's is the first full scale biography by a modern scholar. As such, it will prove valuable to future historians of the Revolution.

The Lee who emerges from Mr. Alden's scholarly pages is not the Lee that this reviewer previously read about in traditional histories; neither, it might be added, does Mr. Alden's Lee seem to be the man Mr. Alden would like him to be, a great but neglected figure. Lee may have had more

than his share of bad luck, but his own personality and character are far more responsible for his failures, especially in the American service, than mere bad fortune. A certain lack of consistency and power of decision recurs in Lee's character. Lee's attitude toward independence for the colonies in 1775-1776 serves as an excellent example of this failing. He wrote in favor of it, tried to influence members of Congress in favor of it, and probably ". . . contributed, no doubt in a decidedly minor degree, to the steadily rising tide at Philadelphia in favor of independence." Yet as Mr. Alden says, Lee "refers . . . to 'your' cause rather than 'our' cause, and to 'your' army rather than 'our' army." Clearly Lee, a Major General in the service of Congress, was not yet an American in feeling. In this connection it might be added that the sub-title *Traitor or Patriot* is misleading. Since Lee was a soldier of fortune who had taken no oath to the United States, he could be neither a patriot nor a traitor.

After performing valuable service in the early days of the Revolution, Lee was eventually dismissed by Congress. Against his help to Washington in 1775-1776 may be set his later jealousy of his chief, dilatoriness in carrying out orders, and finally failure to exert, at "Monmouth Fight," the leadership demanded by his tactical plan. The whole story of his career, admirably presented by a friendly critic, may be found in Mr. Alden's book, but the best efforts of the historian have not made Lee appear as a great figure of history.

The format is generally pleasing, but inclusion of the chapter titles as well as the chapter enumeration for the "Notes" would have added to the ease with which footnotes may be traced. The index is by no means so carefully done as might be desired. Marylanders will have difficulty finding the accounts of Lee's several visits to their state from the two citations under "Annapolis" and one under "Baltimore."

JOHN M. HEMPHILL, II

Philip Mazzei. One of America's Founding Fathers. By GIOVANNI E. SCHIAVO. [Extract from author's *Four Centuries of Italian-American History.*] New York: Vigo Press, 1951. 52 [129-182] pp. $3.

The enthusiasm some Americans show in extolling the contributions made by immigrants of certain national stocks is, generally speaking, commendable. Time enough we became aware of the value of non-English elements in our civilization. Mr. Schiavo's effort, unfortunately, adds little to our understanding of the Italian, Philip Mazzei, who spent some years in America during the Revolution. Principally at fault are the extravagant claims, the gaudy style, the failure to treat Mazzei's career in its historical setting, and the author's inability to make a convincing case to match his thesis: That Mazzei is the greatest Italian (next to Columbus) in American history and one of the "really great fathers of the American nation and of American democracy." For example, it is stated frequently that Mazzei had friends in high places, *ergo*, Mazzei was important. ("Those

Virginians . . . did not hobnob with anybody that came along" [p. 134].) The documents and other source materials are treated as isolated phenomena. The portrait we are given lacks depth and warmth and does not show us a man in the context of his time.

This reviewer regrets that these comments must, in honesty, be made. A temperately written monograph of Mazzei's career in its proper historical setting is needed. One cannot think that any lines written in a flamboyant style in 1951 serve to aid our appreciation of Italian-Americans in a nation that has produced or sheltered Mother Cabrini, Toscanini, LaGuardia, Impellitteri, D'Alesandro, Giannini, Dimaggios, and thousands of good citizens in every walk of American life.

F. S.

The Ragged Ones. By BURKE DAVIS. New York: Rinehart & Company, 1951. 336 pp. $3.50.

This intellectual magazine and this intellectually snobbish reviewer seldom notice a historical novel. When they do, it is something special—like *The Ragged Ones*.

For one thing, this book has the advantage of dealing with one of the least hackneyed campaigns of the American Revolution, the War in the Southern Department, the duel between Cornwallis and Nathanael Greene that led to Yorktown. Mr. Davis is at his best reporting from the front. That is exactly the way he writes his battle scenes, and they are all—particularly Guilford Court House—better than well done.

In the second place *The Ragged Ones* not only began in research but ends still based upon it. Depending in part on a recently discovered British orderly book, Mr. Davis has additionally read enough first-source material to get the real feel of the campaign. His people are generally real, too. He is prone to traditionalize the cavalrymen—his "Light-Horse Harry" is a swashbuckling impostor dressed in sober, sensitive young Henry Lee's clothes—but his Greene and his Cornwallis and particularly his Morgan are as the Lord made them.

Finally, Mr. Davis is throughout his book in full control. The more research an author does the more likely it is to get the upper hand; the average historical novelist in particular drones on with exposition and detail. Mr. Davis refrains. Instead of being black (or purple) with description his pages are light with conversation, and for the most part the dialog is exceptionally good. His chief drags are his central characters, a tedious pair of adolescents, and—here his genre does trip him—ambivalence. He is thinking too much, in *The Ragged Ones*, about his lending-library audience. Or maybe not enough. Perhaps before he writes his next book he can make up his mind.

ELLEN HART SMITH

The Hatfields and the McCoys. By VIRGIL CARRINGTON JONES. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948. xiii, 293 pp. $3.75.

This is a good factual account of the Hatfield-McCoy feud from its beginnings in the 1860's to the supposed flare-up in 1947. The arrangement is entirely chronological, and one sometimes looses the thread of the story in the mass of interesting detail. But a feud which has sometimes seemed to the distant public too fantastic to be real, is brought to life in this volume. Some years ago this reviewer visited in Logan, W. Va., and was made suddenly aware that her hostess was the bearer of a strangely familiar name. A man came into the room to telephone, and after an angry conversation, he ended sarcastically, " Tell him he better come and talk it over. Tell him I won't let the Hatfield boys get him." Since that day in the 1920's, the feud has never seemed distant in time or space, nor will it seem so to the reader of this carefully prepared, accurate, and interesting book.

DOROTHY MACKAY QUYNN

The Papers of Randolph of Roanoke: A Preliminary Checklist. . . . By WILLIAM E. STOKES, JR., and FRANCIS L. BERKELEY, JR. (University of Virginia Bibliographical Series, Number Nine.) Charlottesville: University of Virginia Library, 1950. 170 pp. $2.50.

It is always a pleasure to welcome the publication of a checklist of the correspondence of some important individual. This volume is no exception. Prior to the compilation of this union list of the papers of John Randolph of Roanoke, the location of many of them was unknown. This book, consequently, fulfills the need for such a list.

Nearly 2,800 of Randolph's papers are listed. However, none of them is given any comprehensive treatment. The compilers have kept the information about any particular item to a minimum. They have merely listed the sender of each letter, the place from which it was sent, the name of the recipient, the type of information included in the letter, and whether or not it had been previously published. The result is a handy census of all the known surviving copies of Randolph's correspondence.

This volume is a welcome addition to the source materials for the study of American history. Randolph was such an important man in the early years of the Republic that a collection of his correspondence could not be overlooked. This volume was well prepared. It is attractively bound with Randolph's coat of arms reproduced on the front cover. The index is thorough. The introductory material dealing with Randolph's life is of great value as is the general statement on the nature of the project. The compilers have also included as a frontispiece a full color reproduction of the Gilbert Stuart painting of Randolph. The University of Virginia Library is to be praised for the preparation of such a checklist. The appearance of the final calendar of Randolph's papers will be looked for eagerly.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

Aaron Levy. Founder of Aaronsburg. By SIDNEY M. FISH. (Studies in American Jewish History Number 1.) New York: American Jewish Historical Society, 1951. ix, 81 pp. $1.50.

Too much cannot be written on the contributions made by various minorities to American civilization. Aaron Levy, as representative of such a group, deserves the recognition accorded him in Dr. Fish's study. The author gives an account of Levy's life, his dealings in real estate, and his interest in establishing a prosperous town. Special mention is given to his contributions to the Salem Lutheran Church. Although the progress of the town, located it seemed in an ideal situation, was not all its founder expected, still it stands today in the heart of Pennsylvania. It was there that a celebration in honor of its founder which gave rise to this study was recently held. As Dr. Fish points out, the real significance of the celebration was the manner in which Americans of today paid tribute to a Jewish pioneer. This book, without preaching, carries a message that is further enhanced by inclusion in the appendices of speeches by such notables present as Dr. Ralphe Bunche and Justice Felix Frankfurter.

CATHERINE M. SHELLEY

Ijamsville. The Story of a Country Village of Frederick County. By CHARLES E. MOYLAN. [Frederick *News*], 1951. 19 pp.

Judge Moylan has not been content with pleasant hometown memories. He has written an agreeable history of Ijamsville, first published in the Frederick *News* and now as a separate pamphlet. These 19 pages are packed with names, events, and pictures. Perhaps no day was more exciting than that in 1832 when the first horse-drawn Baltimore and Ohio cars passed through Ijamsville enroute to Frederick. Of as much local interest will be the lists of postmasters and schoolteachers; accounts of business, church, and community activities; stories of baseball teams of earlier days; and several paragraphs devoted to those who have "made good." That a resident of the village may have been a collaborator and ghost writer of R. D. Blackmore's *Lorna Doone* is a possibility noted without comment. Judge Moylan has shown grace and sophistication in claiming no more and in accepting no less than the village deserves.

Forest Conservation in Colonial Times. By LILLIAN M. WILLSON. (Forest Products History Foundation Series. Publication No. 3.) St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1948. 32 pp. $.50.

Most Americans have been schooled to think that conservation in this country began about 50 years ago with the well-publicized efforts of Gifford Pinchot, Theodore Roosevelt, and a few others. Mrs. Willson demonstrates in this brief account that officials of the British Empire and of the American colonies were earnestly concerned with preserving the forests of this hemisphere. The reasons were various: Maintaining the

source of supply of masts for the Royal Navy, preserving mulberry trees which many hoped would be the source of a great silk industry, guaranteeing that enough timber should be available for firewood, establishing that rights of private property were not to be violated without penalty, and so on. Apparently no distinct Maryland sources were used. It seems odd that at least the *Archives of Maryland* was not used, or if used without finding pertinent references, the negative results were not noticed in the bibliography.

The Southern Humanities Conference and Its Constituent Societies. (Bulletin No. Two, The Southern Humanities Conference.) Compiled by J. O. Bailey and Sturgis E. Leavitt. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1951. 68 pp. $1.

A history of the Conference, its constitution, histories of the constituent societies, listings of meetings and officers and of associate members make up this Bulletin of the Southern Humanities Conference. In describing what the Conference is and the purposes of the member societies, the Bulletin seems likely to fulfill its purpose of publicizing and gaining support for study of the humanities in the South. It is interesting to note that Maryland participates as a southern state in three of the ten constituent organizations.

Business Executives and the Humanities. By Quentin O. McAllister. (Bulletin No. Three. The Southern Humanities Conference.) Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1951. 114 pp. $1.50.

In an effort to learn the attitudes of successful executives toward training in the humanities or liberal arts, especially English and foreign languages, Mr. McAllister wrote to more than 1,000 key figures in business and government. The answers, many of which are quoted, show a serious and, on the whole, intelligent concern about the quality and quantity of training available in the humanities. Four appendices, "Employment in Business and Industry," "Employment in Government," "Fields of Opportunity," and "A Partial List of Reporting Executives," are illuminating.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

American Painting: History and Interpretation. By Virgil Barker. New York: MacMillan, 1950. xxvii, 717 pp. (Passano Fund Purchase.)

American Book-Prices Current. Index 1945-1950. New York: R. R. Bowker Co., 1951. lxi, 1405 pp. (Maloy Memorial Fund Purchase.)

Julian P. Boyd: A Bibliographical Record. Compiled and Offered by his Friends on the Occasion of his Tenth Anniversary as Librarian of Princeton University. Princeton Univ. Press, 1950. 62 pp.

NOTES AND QUERIES

THE MAGAZINE UNDER A NEW EDITOR

When in 1950 the editorial management of the Maryland Historical Magazine was returned to the Director of the Society, upon the resignation of Dr. Harry Ammon, the Librarian and Editor, it was with the understanding that this arrangement would only be temporary. The incoming Librarian, Mr. Fred Shelley, not only expressed interest in succeeding to the post of Editor, but from the first devoted himself wholeheartedly to the laborious duties of Associate Editor.

On the recommendation of the Director the Committee on Publications has appointed Mr. Shelley as the new Editor; he takes over with this issue. The Society is fortunate in securing the services of one well versed in this field, able in research, and experienced in the practical side of editing and publishing. Especially to be commended to our members are the industry, resourcefulness and unstinting helpfulness of the new Editor.

Mr. Shelley has finished his work for the Ph. D. degree at American University, Washington, D. C., with the exception of the final preparation of his thesis for publication. The latter, on the subject of Ebenezer Hazard, and his Journal, promises to be a valuable contribution to our knowledge of late Eighteenth Century America.

J. Hall Pleasants
Chairman, Committee on Publications

THE MARYLAND GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND ANGLO-AMERICAN HERALDRY

By Francis B. Culver

Centuries ago, a famous Latin poet wrote: Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis ("The times change and we change with them"). For better or for worse, change is the natural law in the life of mortals on earth. But, in this world of human vicissitudes, there is a thing that is unchangeable; it is one's ancestral lineage, commonly called "family background." The family tree may grow and flourish like a "cedar of Lebanon" from century to century or, in some cases, it may decline and finally die; but its "background" may be traced by the genealogist. So, an individual's inherited surname may be altered by legal enactment, but

the "blood of the original stock" still will course through the veins of that person and of his lineal descendants, preserving the continuity.

In the year 1783 a case, unique so far as is known, confronted the Maryland General Assembly. Charles Carroll, alias "Barrister Carroll," a Maryland gentleman and one of the most distinguished local celebrities of his day, died at his estate, "Mount Clare," near Baltimore, on March 23, 1783, aged sixty years and one day. His wife was Margaret Tilghman (daughter of the Hon. Matthew Tilghman) by whom he had two children, twins, who died in infancy. He had a sister, Mary Clare Carroll (1727-ca. 1781), whom he dearly loved, and who had married at the age of twenty years Mr. Nicholas Maccubbin (Sr.), of Maryland. Mary Clare (Carroll) Maccubbin had seven children, five sons and two daughters.

Charles Carroll, Barrister, signed his will on August 7, 1781 (less than three months before the British surrender at Yorktown, Va.), leaving his entire estate to his two oldest nephews, Nicholas Maccubbin, Jr., and James Maccubbin, upon condition that they each should take their mother's maiden surname of Carroll, "and that only"; and that they should appropriate and use the "Carroll coat of arms of the family of Carroll or O'Carroll, forever after." Other nephews were not mentioned. It is worth note that Carroll was an insistent champion of the old Law of Primogeniture (see his will in Baltimore County, Wills recorded in new liber III, folio 503 *et seq.*).

The terms of the will were accepted by the two nephews; and the Maryland General Assembly, whose business it was either to approve or to disapprove, as the circumstances of a given case justified, the right to change one's inherited surname, promptly ratified and sanctioned the terms of the will of Charles Carroll, Barrister, *in toto*, which thus included the unique disposal of a coat of arms (*Laws of Maryland*, 1783, April Session, Chapter III). It may be noted that Maryland was at this period a Sovereign State, as the Federal Union had not yet been perfected.

Whereas this transaction appears to have been without precedent in our American colonies, it was strictly legal, since the will was doubtless framed by the Barrister himself, a distinguished American-born lawyer who was familiar with English jurisprudence. "He had been taken as a child to Europe for his education. He studied at Cambridge University until he was twenty-three years of age, returned to Maryland for a period and then returned to England to read law in the Temple." (*Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLII [1947], 32.) Charles Carroll, Barrister, finally settled in Maryland about 1755 and married Margaret Tilghman in 1763. Notwithstanding his earlier British influences and affiliations, when the American Revolution broke forth, he immediately joined the cause of the patriots inMaryland. (*Archives of Maryland*, XI, XII, *passim.*)

Unlike our British cousins, we have in these United States no heraldic institution (like the College of Arms in London) legally organized and regularly maintained, which acts under the aegis of our national government.

As it may be of interest to the general reader and, especially, to the

Carroll descendants, this writer wrote to the English Heralds' College in London for an expression of opinion as to the status abroad of a grant of coat armor by our Maryland General Assembly. There was a prompt and courteous reply from James A. Frere, Esq., which is as follows:

" Thank you for your interesting letter of the 23rd of December.

" It seems to me possible that the answer to your question may involve points which go well beyond the Herald's competence and require the opinion in addition of a lawyer versed in both English and American law, and possibly of an international lawyer into the bargain.

" In England the transference of Arms under the terms of a Will or otherwise from one family to another can only be made valid by Royal Licence or an Act of Parliament, but there is provision for the acceptance by the College of Arms, if valid, of Foreign Arms duly authorised by official Foreign Authority, and it is possible that an Act of the Maryland Legislature might qualify under this head. It is, however, news to me that Armorial Bearings have been recognised in this way by American Legislation, but I take it from what you say there can be no doubt of the point.

" Possibly the matter might be accepted if a descendant of the Carroll . . . legatee were to come forward, produce and record here evidence of his descent and offer the relative Act of the Legislature as evidence of the Arms. If this possibility were of serious interest I should be pleased to advise further on the detailed procedure and the probable cost."

Parker Genealogy Prizes—The closing date for submission of manuscripts in the Dudrea and Sumner Parker Prizes for Maryland Genealogies is December 31, 1951. All manuscripts should be typed and organized in a clear manner to facilitate use by the general public. Papers entered should deal in some degree with a Maryland family or families.

Prizes will be as follow: First Prize, $30; Second Prize, $20; Third Prize, $10.

The first prize for the best contribution in the field of Maryland genealogy entered in the 1950 contest has been awarded to Mrs. Henry (Florence C.) Montgomery of Hilton Village, Virginia, for her contribution, " Wells and Related Families That Moved from Maryland to the Ohio River Valley." The amount of the award was $45. A check for this amount has been sent to Mrs. Montgomery.

Second prize went to Mr. Edwin W. Beitzell of Washington, D. C., for his manuscript, " The Gerard and Cheseldine Families." The amount of this prize was $30. Third prize was awarded to Mrs. Evelyn C. Adams of Baltimore for her study, " The Troutman Families."

To the judges of this contest, Miss Elizabeth B. Showacre, Mr. Harry Wright Newman, and Mr. A. Russell Slagle, the Society extends its gratitude.

Dawson—Want information about parents of George Dawson (born in Md. in 1744) and his wife, Hannah Asbury (Asberry) (born in Md. about 1759); also when and where George and Hannah Dawson were married. They came to Ky. where youngest son, Asbury Dawson, was born 1800. Was James Asberry of Baltimore Co., census of 1790, the father of Hannah? Was George Dawson of Talbot Co. (Bay Hundred), census of 1776, the one who came to Green Co., Ky.?

Mrs. E. B. Federa,
1224 Cherokee Road, Louisville, Ky.

Hynes—Lawrence—William Rose Hynes was born January 27, 1771, near Hancock, Washington Co., and died at Bardstown, Nelson Co., Ky., on April 10, 1837. On November 16, 1800, he married at Garrison Forest (St. Thomas' Episcopal) Church, Baltimore Co., Elizabeth Lawrence, probably of Washington Co., who was born on May 2, 1778, and died on January 15, 1814. Desire further information about Elizabeth Lawrence including names of children and dates of births.

D. H. McIntosh,
Box 163, Hampstead, Md.

Brown (Browne)—I am compiling the genealogy of the Brown (Browne) family of Talbot, Queen Anne's, and Kent Counties. Any data, particularly transcripts of family Bible records or private papers, shedding light on any of the branches of this family will be gratefully received.

Thomas DeC. Ruth,
115 Broadway, New York 6, N. Y.

West St. Mary's Manor—Many readers of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* will wish to read the article entitled "Living With Antiques, The Maryland Home of Lieutenant-Colonel and Mrs. Miodrag R. Blagojevich" that appeared in *Antiques* for April, 1951, pp. 302-305. The article is attractively illustrated with photographs by Jack Engeman and Colonel Blagojevich.

Back Issues—The Society always welcomes the return of any and all back issues of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* that members may not wish to retain.

Carrico Family—A detailed account of the Carrico family in America by Homer E. Carrico appeared in the *Filson Club History Quarterly*, 25 (July, 1951), 217-252.

Biography of Luther Martin

(1) Can anyone advise me as to the maiden name of the mother of Luther Martin and his brother Lenox? Her first name is generally given as Hannah, but on what authority?

(2) Can anyone give me the full name of the husband of Maria Martin, the elder daughter of Luther Martin? His surname is sometimes given as Keene, but as no relation to Richard Reynall Keene, the husband of Maria Martin's younger sister Eleanora.

(3) What is the authority for the statement that Richard Reynall Keene and Eleanora (Martin) Keene had a son born in New York in 1802, who was living in France in 1821, and probably died without issue in 1825?

(4) Can anyone furnish me with copies, or the location of, letters to or from Luther Martin, for use in a full-length biography of the latter which I am now writing? Most of the historical societies in this country have already been contacted, but with only the most meager results. Autograph dealers, however, advise me that they have in years past handled hundreds of such letters, but that they are now ignorant of their whereabouts.

Paul S. Clarkson,
410 Kensington Road, Baltimore.

CONTRIBUTORS

Mr. Pinkett, Assistant Chief of the Agriculture Records Section in the National Archives, is an authority on agricultural history and contributes frequently to scholarly journals. ☆ A graduate student at Columbia University, Miss McKenna is the authorized biographer of William E. Borah. Her article on Sotterley is the result of research during the past two summers for its present owner. ☆ Long interested in family history and 17th century Maryland, Mr. Beitzell has made exhaustive use of the *Archives of Maryland* and other sources in the preparation of his study of Thomas Gerard. ☆ The Rev. Mr. Scriven, rector of the Episcopal Church of the Nativity, Cedarcroft, in Baltimore, and the author of a number of religious texts, has a special interest in the history of Harford County. ☆ Holder of a Johns Hopkins Ph. D., Mr. Saunders is Assistant Professor of English in the University of Oklahoma. He spent the decade 1929-1939 in Maryland and was for a year Director of the Federal Writer's Project in this State.

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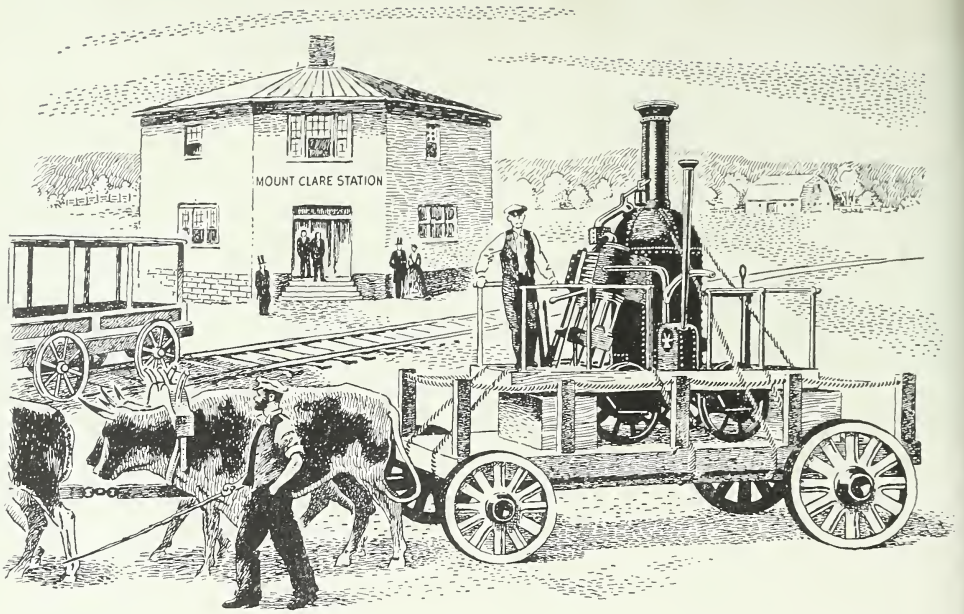

The locomotive that came by ox-cart

On the surveyors' maps of 1831, the infant Baltimore and Ohio Railroad connected the great natural harbor of Baltimore with the rich cargoes of the Ohio river. Actual construction however, had only been completed as far as Ellicott's Mills—13 miles from Mt. Clare Station on Pratt Street. Passenger and freight cars were pulled by horses—and the Ohio was far away.

The year before, Peter Cooper's little locomotive, Tom Thumb, had made the round trip pushing a car with twenty-three passengers at speeds of up to 18 miles an hour. It proved impractical however, for regular service.

A prize of $4000 was offered by the B & O for the best steam engine entered in a contest to be held in June, 1831. Four entries competed, and the winner was the York, built by Phineas Davis in York, Pennsylvania, and trundled down the turnpike to Baltimore by ox-cart.

When the York achieved the unheard of speed of thirty miles an hour without mishap and proved able to haul as many as five cars filled with passengers, the B & O Directors knew that the Ohio River wasn't so far away after all.

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BALTIMORE

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FRED SHELLEY, *Editor*

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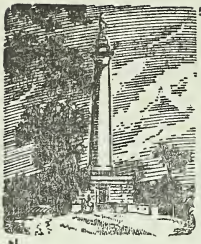

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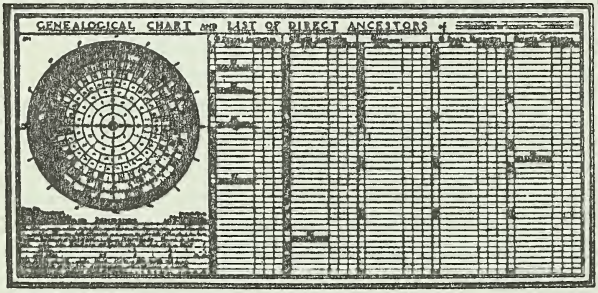

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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SIDELIGHTS ON AMERICAN SCIENCE AS REVEALED IN THE HYATT AUTOGRAPH COLLECTION

By Francis C. Haber

THE nineteenth century was a period of phenomenal growth in American science. At the beginning of the century there was little scientific organization, there were few professional scientists, and the scientific activities which were being carried on had negligible effect on the daily life of the time. During the century, however, scores of scientific societies emerged, facilities multiplied, science grew into numerous highly specialized professions, and hardly an area of life escaped the transforming effects of scientific knowledge. As a result, the essential features of modern science had evolved by 1900, making it possible in the present century to move from the horse-and-buggy stage of civilization to the atomic stage within the memory of a single generation.

In the biological sciences the encyclopedic " natural history " of the 18th century gave way to the separate sciences of geology, paleontology, zoology, and botany. The earth was systematically explored and fossil remains were gathered in the many museums founded during the century. Naturalists were thus able, with the aid of the theory of evolution, to reconstruct the record of millions of years of history which had been lost to humanity in previous centuries, and provide the basis for a thoroughgoing revision of man's historical and sociological outlook along evolutionary lines.

A few men, such as Charles Darwin and Asa Gray, stand in a dominating position in the story of the development of biological science, but it was a complex movement and in it dozens of unheralded lesser figures played an important role. Alpheus Hyatt (1838-1902), a pioneer in paleontology, was typical of the significant secondary leaders who brought their field of specialization to maturity, and some aspects of the remarkable promotional and scientific work taking place on the American scene are reflected in his autograph collection.

During the course of his career Hyatt set aside some of his letters in a special file which now form the Hyatt Autograph Collection (about 250 pieces) in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society.[1] Because he was prominent in science and society, the correspondence in the Collection does contain many notable autographs, but it is essentially a record of activities surrounding an American naturalist of the 19th century; and though far from being comprehensive, seems deserving of notice in the story of American science.

Although Hyatt passed most of his life in and about Boston, Marylanders will be interested to know that he had been a Baltimorean. His ancestors were among the early landed proprietors along the Potomac River. Alpheus was a great-great grandson of Charles Hyatt, Esq., of Tewkesbury and also related to the founder of Hyattsville, Maryland.[2] Hyatt's father was a

[1] In addition to the Hyatt Autograph Collection, the Maryland Historical Society also possesses the correspondence of Hyatt with J. T. Gulick on the shells of the Sandwich Islands (about 30 items), and an important part of Hyatt's valuable library of early Americana, donated to the Society through the generosity of the Hon. and Mrs. J. Allan Coad in 1947.

[2] Luther W. Welsh, *Ancestral Colonial Families: Genealogy of the Welsh and Hyatt Families of Maryland and Their Kin* (Independence, Mo., 1928).

prominent merchant of Baltimore with a large colonial homestead, "Wansbeck," at the corner of Franklin and Schroeder Streets, then in the countryside. Without entering into further genealogical discussion of his background, it is enough to note for the purposes of science that Hyatt's heritage provided him with sufficient freedom to choose a career other than money-making and adequate means to pursue it.

Because of his social position, Hyatt enjoyed private tutors and college preparatory work in a private school, the Maryland Military Academy at Oxford on the Eastern Shore. After a year at Yale he was sent to Europe for the benefits of the fashionable grand tour where, like other members of wealthy families of his generation, he became critical of the materialistic standards of his own country and wanted to devote his life to something more noble than the counting-house. While in Rome he decided upon a scientific career and returned to America to enter the Lawrence Scientific School at Harvard, and became a student of one of the best known naturalists of the day, Louis Agassiz.

In 1858 when Hyatt entered upon a scientific career, science still had the romantic flavor of a cultural pursuit of the highest order, and something of the exalted view he had of his new career was reflected in a letter from his boyhood confidant, C. A. Wagner, who had also been on the grand tour earlier and had met Agassiz in his native town of Neuchatel, Switzerland. Wagner wrote:

> I was highly gratified to hear, that the old governor relented, and enabled you to become a man of pure science, one of the highest aims of humanity! and then to penetrate into the depths of nature's laboratory under a leader like Agassiz—man, you are to be envied.[3]

The "old governor" probably was not favorably impressed with the argument of "the highest aims of humanity" as a basis for entering a field as unpromising as science in 1858. To his credit he tolerated his son's fancy, but apparently Hyatt's other relatives were adamant against his choice of a profitless career, for Wagner goes on to say, "That scene with your Mammon-worshipping northern relatives amused me a good deal, I can see you in my imagination acting Tartuffe."

The idealistic enthusiasm of Hyatt for science could not have

[3] C. A. Wagner to Alpheus Hyatt, Jan. 22, 1859. Unless otherwise indicated, all letters cited are from the Hyatt Collection, Maryland Historical Society.

come under a more beneficial influence than that of Louis Agassiz, one of the greatest scientific teachers of all time, inspired and inspiring when he stepped up on the lecture platform. The Swiss naturalist who visited America in 1846 to deliver lectures at the Lowell Institute had become fascinated with the New World and made it his home, decisively rejecting the urgent request of the French Government to come to the Museum of Natural History as director.[4] He had felt the promise of America and planned instead to establish a museum and center of research here to rival those of the Old World. Through his ability to charm legislators and philanthropists as well as lecture audiences, the dream was rapidly becoming a reality by 1858 in the form of the Museum of Comparative Zoology at Harvard.

It was probably the spirit of a pioneering mission which attracted Hyatt to the activities of the Museum after he had come to Harvard, but once in the laboratory he found that Agassiz was a practical and rigorous scientist who made his students spend weeks examining a single zoological specimen before he was satisfied with their observations on it. As a result of Agassiz's ability to recognize talent and his combination of severe training blessed with inspiration, almost all of his students became leaders in their respective fields of natural science during the course of the century.[5]

Hyatt was among Agassiz's early American students and stood high in his favor. Upon graduation from Harvard in 1862 with an award of first degree, Hyatt's distinguished teacher predicted that he would secure " an enviable position among the scientific men of our time." [6] The prediction was not made without basis, since Hyatt had already demonstrated proficiency in the classification of specimens and had done creditable work on a fossil-hunting expedition to the island of Anticosti in the Gulf of the St. Lawrence prior to graduation. The outbreak of the Civil War, however, gave pause to Hyatt's scientific research.

Ardor for the Union cause was strong at the Museum. Agassiz became an American citizen to express his faith in the Union and about half of his students volunteered in the Union Army. Hyatt's sense of duty impelled him to enlist in the Union Army, too,

[4] Jules Marcou, *Life, Letters, and Works of Louis Agassiz* (New York, 1896), II, 70-74.

[5] Lane Cooper, *Louis Agassiz as a Teacher* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1945).

[6] Louis Agassiz to Alpheus Hyatt, Sr., Mar. 19, 1862.

although only his mother in his immediate family accepted his decision with understanding. The rest of the family was firm in the Confederate cause and treated him with years of cold silence for his loyalty to the North.[7]

Thanks to his military training at Oxford, and to the intercession of Agassiz on his behalf,[8] Hyatt was given a commission in the 47th Massachusetts regiment. After completing his service with distinction, he engaged upon a lecture series for the benefit of sick soldiers in his old home town of Baltimore. Agassiz took this occasion to extend his friendship to Hyatt's mother with the following letter, probably in an effort to smooth over the effects of Hyatt's loyalty to the North:

Cambridge, Dec, 21, 1863

My dear Mrs. Hyatt,

I understand that your son, Mr. Alpheus Hyatt, has offered his services to deliver a series of lectures in Baltimore for the benefit of the sick soldiers. As this will be his first appearance before the public as a scientific man, allow me to introduce him to you in that capacity. It might perhaps be more appropriate were I to address these lines to any other person than his mother; but as I have no extensive circle of acquaintances in your city and you may be pleased to preserve yourself what his old teacher has to say of your son I see in this circumstance rather an inducement to write to you.

It gives me real pleasure to be able to state that Mr. Alpheus Hyatt has gone through an extensive course of studies in the various branches of Natural History, embracing zoology, paleontology & geology in all their specialties and that he has mastered them to the extent of being fully qualified to carry on original investigations for himself. He is now actively engaged in the preparation of a work on fossils which will do him the highest credit and at once place him on a level with the savans of the day, as soon as it can be published. I have no means of judging how Mr. Hyatt will appear as a public lecturer, as he has not yet made the attempt to address large audiences. But I know that his extensive information fully qualifies him to impart accurate & trustworthy lessons. Of course a young lecturer can not be expected to understand fully the art of captivating an audience; but I am sure Mr. Hyatt will soon acquire it, as he possesses the essential element with which to engage the attention: knowledge thoroughly his own.

Mrs. Alpheus Hyatt
Baltimore

With great respect
Yours very truly
Ls Agassiz

---

[7] Alfred Goldsborough Mayer, "Alpheus Hyatt, 1838-1902," *Popular Science Monthly*, LXXVIII (1911), 132.

[8] Louis Agassiz to Governor Andrew, Aug. 10, 1862.

Hyatt and other students who had left the Museum for war service returned to their former center of research during 1864, forming a corps of assistants for Agassiz. The arrangement did not prove to be a happy one, however, for Agassiz was overworked, frequently ill, and in his zeal to promote his institution expected more subservience from his former students than he was entitled to. His assistants worked for little or no pay and wanted to carry on some research while on duty. When Agassiz issued a set of directives which denied the assistants any opportunity to work for themselves during museum hours, the situation became intolerable to them.

The discontent at the Museum entered into professional gossip as far away as St. Petersburg where Cleveland Abbe was studying astronomy at the Russian Imperial Observatory. Abbe summed up the attitude of the young assistants when he wrote to Hyatt,

> So far as I can understand the ' regulations ' of Agassiz Museum they aim at securing to the Museum & the Directors the sole disposal of all work done in the building or with the specimens—a course not calculated to advance the general object of such an Establishment.[9]

Discord passed into open rebellion in what was known in academic circles as the " Salem secession." Some dissatisfied assistants left Agassiz during 1864, but early in 1865 a walkout was staged by A. E. Verrill, F. W. Putnam, E. S. Morse, A. S. Packard and Hyatt, with all but Verrill seceding to the Essex Institute at Salem, Massachusetts, where they helped in setting up a new center of research, the Peabody Academy of Science. Hyatt took a leading part in the revolt, the organization of the Academy, and the founding of the first permanent American journal devoted to biological sciences, *The American Naturalist,* serving as one of its editors in cooperation with his fellow rebels.

The " Salem secession " took place at the beginning of a period in American history which was remarkable for its rampant entrepreneurial activity; it was an era in which captains of industry were transforming the economic nature of the nation into its modern form. In fact, the picture of robber barons ruthlessly exploiting the resources of the country and cornering unprecedented wealth

[9] Cleveland Abbe to Alpheus Hyatt, Apr. 21, 1865. Cleveland Abbe (1838-1916), director of the Cincinnati Observatory where he began to issue weather reports, assisted in establishing U. S. Weather Bureau, and edited meteorological journals.

as a reward for their organizing genius is so colorful that it tends to obscure the less spectacular, but no less thorough organizing activity that was taking place in the professional areas. Thumbing through the Hyatt Collection and seeing the names of correspondents like James McCosh of Princeton, F. A. P. Barnard of Columbia, Andrew D. White of Cornell, J. William Dawson of McGill, and D. C. Gilman of Hopkins suggests the type of builder occupying presidential chairs of universities. Likewise, the names of Joseph Henry, F. V. Hayden, J. W. Powell, F. B. Meek, Spencer F. Baird, and Alexander Agassiz bring to mind the institution-building within the federal government through such agencies as the Smithsonian Institution, the National Academy of Sciences, the U. S. Geological Survey, the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, the United States Fish Commission, and the U. S. National Museum during this reputed age of "laissez-faire" political philosophy. The impulse to build was in the air and fanned out in all directions.

The most spectacular entrepreneurs in the paleontological field were the competing tycoons of the fossil resources of America, Edward Drinker Cope [10] of Philadelphia and Othniel C. Marsh [11] of Yale. Each spent a large fortune in trying to outdo the other at monopolizing the fossil beds of the West, their behaviour at times reaching a scandalous notoriety in the press, but as a result of their energetic buccaneering warfare they gathered the store of knowledge to be found in the western fossil areas at a pace comparable to the conquests of the economic entrepreneurs. The rebels from Cambridge could not command the same resources as Cope and Marsh, but they shared in the spirit of organizing.

After the Peabody Academy of Science became a going concern, Hyatt left Salem to take a position at the Boston Society of Natural History where he set on foot the Teachers School of Science, a new kind of enterprise designed to provide lecture courses for the public school teachers of Boston. The urge to organize found further expression in a marine laboratory and

[10] Edward Drinker Cope (1840-1897), son of wealthy Philadelphia merchant, was connected with the Hayden Survey and other western exploration expeditions. He made extensive fossil collections and contributed over 600 titles to work in paleontology.

[11] Othniel C. Marsh (1831-1899), nephew of philanthropist George Peabody, was head of the Peabody Museum at Yale University. In addition to making large collections of fossils, Marsh reconstructed pre-historic remains such as the dinosaur with unusual skill and showed the evolution of the horse through fossil remains.

summer school which he established on his private estate at Annisquam, Massachusetts, in 1879. When Annisquam proved unsuitable for the kind of marine work Hyatt envisaged, he assisted in organizing the famous laboratory at Woods Hole, transferring his Annisquam equipment to the new laboratory and serving as first president of its board of trustees. Hyatt helped institute the American Society of Naturalists and served as first president. In addition he was an active member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Philosophical Society, the National Academy of Sciences, and the Geological Society of London.

Few periods in American history lend themselves to an economic interpretation as well as the latter half of the nineteenth century, but nowhere does the economic explanation of human behaviour fail more completely than in accounting for the motivation behind the work of natural scientists such as Hyatt. The organizational work of these scientific builders was for the most part non-profit, usually consuming wealth instead of producing it. The single venture that Hyatt was connected with which was operated on a basis of profit and loss was the professional journal, *American Naturalist,* and an insight into its financial status can be seen in the remarks of Professor Cope who bought an interest in it and served as editor from 1877 to 1896:

> As a matter of gossip I will mention that the publishers of the [American] Naturalist were recently closed up by the Sheriff, and I thought that the magazine was certainly killed this time. Had the situation continued, it would have been the fourth time that the publishers of the Naturalist have suspended publication after receiving the subscriptions. However the situation turns out to be only temporary, and the Naturalist will be issued as usual and on time. The present publishers are the best it ever had since I had charge, as they made it pay expenses in 9 mos. after they got to work. They expect to see the receipts in excess of expenses during 1894, *if subscribers will pay up.*[12]

The drive in naturalists like Hyatt to promote science was motivated by an intellectual inspiration rather than by economic wants. The scientific faith enunciated by Francis Bacon in the 17th century had expanded until, in the hands of French *philosophes* like Condorcet, the progress of science was equated with the progress of civilization. This Enlightenment concept was embodied

[12] E. D. Cope to Alpheus Hyatt, Nov. 10, 1893.

in the intellectual fibre of the American Republic and in the burst of cultural nationalism which followed the Declaration of Independence, the " Advancement of Learning " became an integral part of American pioneering, leading to a phenomenal growth of societies dedicated to the promotion of the arts and sciences.

It was in the idealistic milieu of promoting science for the sake of humanity that Hyatt's generation found so much inspiration for their work. However, in making their faith bear fruit they shared in the practical methods of their partners in the economic field. This union of idealism and realistic methods is strikingly revealed in the letters of Hyatt's friend, Albert Bickmore,the directing force behind the foundation of the American Museum of Natural History in New York.

Bickmore had been one of the first of Agassiz's students to leave the Museum in 1864. In his reaction to what he regarded as monarchism at the Museum, Bickmore conceived the idea of building a republican museum in New York, and began to carry out his humanitarian enterprise with the shrewdness of a Jay Gould cornering the gold market. Hyatt was his trusted colleague at the Museum where Agassiz's students were on the verge of seceding and Bickmore wrote to him from New Haven:

I have just had a short interview with Prof. Dana,[13] who entertains our undertaking with the greatest favor. . . . He will write a note to be read at the proposed meeting, expressing his pleasure at the prospect of a great museum in N. Y. & his confidence in the ability & training of the corps of young men who propose to do the work if the New York people will furnish the money.

He likes much the idea of making it so to speak a republican institution & thinks the director of the museum [Agassiz] made a great mistake in adopting the opposite policy & scattering the young men he had trained to do such work.

. . . We shall call on Mr. Folsom[14] on Monday & then make arrangements in regard to the dinner & who the guests shall be. Said dinner will probably take place on Thursday evening, as we shall have to ascertain how the matter takes with A. B. & C. before they get an invitation.[15]

Bickmore was virtually a " nobody " in New York, but he knew

[13] James D. Dana (1813-1895), outstanding American geologist, professor at Yale, editor of the *American Journal of Science*, and author of *Manual of Geology* which was a standard text of the field.

[14] Probably George Folsom (1802-1869), Senator from New York, editor, and prominent member of the American Geographical and Statistical Society.

[15] Albert Bickmore to Alpheus Hyatt, Wednesday [1864].

how to get around, and better still, how to stand in the background " manoevering to make everything come right." From New York Bickmore wrote:

. . . I called on Mr. Folsom again this morning, taking with me the various Museum Reports & showing him the standing of the men who would like to come & build up a great Museum in New York if the money could be furnished.

He expresses himself deeply interested in the whole scheme & desirous that a beginning be made at once. . . . Mr. Folsom will probably be President & will let us do as we please. He entertains the right ideas as to the necessity of having a great Museum on the proposed Zoological & Botanical Gardens, and likes the idea of its being managed according to republican principles, and not like a *monarchy*. I read him Professor Dana's note, which speaks strongly on that point as I expressed the wish to Prof. D[ana]. that when I should receive it, I should find it might. I have told Mr. F[olsom]. as much about the Great Annihilator [Agassiz] as was necessary and found him *sound* or willing to be. I think all our fears as to Prof. A[gassiz]'s interfering with our plans are now without foundation. You may rely on it that I shall see that they fully understand " whats what," and who will assist & who destroy.

. . . After my talk with Mr. Folsom this morning you need entertain no fears. Any attempt on the part of the Director of the Museum in C[ambridge]. to injure any one of us would only be the best recommendations for him that he could possibly have here. Its precisely the thing—though of course we should avoid it—that will help our cause most & make it sure of complete success *at once*.[16]

After noting that the rapid advance of gold operated badly for their cause, making business men feel unwilling to embark in any new enterprise which demanded large sums, Bickmore assured Hyatt that he was getting more and more determined to see the thing done and entertained " not the slightest doubt that it can be done, by taking time & not making a coup de main before the proper time comes."

The dinner which Bickmore had arranged was a fund-raising affair. Shortly before it was to take place he wrote:

I have had a long and delightful talk with Mr. Bierstadt[17] this afternoon. He enters into our plan so enthusiastically as to offer to give $1,000 himself & do all he can by influencing the wealthy men he knows to give in proportion. If they should do so it will be an easy matter to raise a million.

---

[16] Albert Bickmore to Alpheus Hyatt, Thursday [1864].

[17] Albert Bierstadt (1830-1902), landscape painter famous for his western scenes and recipient of many foreign honorary awards.

He cannot be present at our meeting but wished me to say that a poor artist on 10th St. would give a thousand.

I intend to send him an invitation & let him write a reply, stating his interest in our enterprise & the donation he is able to make.

So far—so good.[18]

Bierstadt also offered to paint a picture about 20 feet long to show the public the magnificence of the proposed Museum and volunteered to speak to Alexander T. Stewart, the retail store tycoon, about support for the plan. However, the proper time for a *coup de main* had not come, so Bickmore postponed his "scheme" for a museum in New York until after he had taken an expedition through the Dutch East Indies. He met with better success at a later date, won the backing of wealthy New Yorkers and the political bosses, Tweed and Tilden, and by 1869 the American Museum of Natural History was incorporated. Bickmore served as Superintendent until 1884 when he took over the position of curator of a new project, the Museum Department of Public Instruction, designed to facilitate public education in natural science.

In the meantime Hyatt and his fellow rebels had seceded to Salem to build a republican museum. Actually, Hyatt would probably have been reluctant to re-establish himself as far away from Cambridge as New York. He did not experience the same hostility towards Agassiz as Bickmore, and, anxious as Hyatt was to escape the jurisdiction of his former teacher, he was equally anxious to complete the classification of the fossil collection at the Museum of Comparative Zoology on which Agassiz had started him. The Cephalopod [19] section of the Museum had been assigned to Hyatt and continuation of his work on it furnished a basis for reconciliation between Agassiz and his assistant shortly after the "secession." The large collection of fossil specimens at the Museum provided a main body of research materials for Hyatt throughout his professional career and he found it convenient to make his home in Cambridge to be near them.

Facilities for carrying on scientific work was a good reason for Hyatt's preference for the Boston area, but a more attractive one

[18] Albert Bickmore to Alpheus Hyatt, Friday [1864].

[19] Cephalopoda is a class of the phylum Mollusca, containing the squids, cuttlefish, nautilus, and other highly developed invertebrates. Hyatt was particularly interested in the nautiloids, ammonites, and other snail types of fossil Cephalopoda.

was the nature of his social life. The Baltimorean seems to have been an authentic example of the genteel, generous, and refined sort of person about whom the South so often boasts, and he was warmly accepted into the cultural life of Boston. Probably through the sponsorship of Agassiz, Hyatt was taken into the remarkable social clubs about Boston, the Chestnut Club, the Thursday Club, the Round Table Club, and the Saturday Club, where he hobnobbed with Emerson, Longfellow, Holmes, Hoar, and Higginson. He was also a welcome guest at the *salons* of the patrons of culture, such as that of Mrs. George Ticknor, and was a frequent visitor to the dinner tables of Boston's social leaders. After he had established his own home, "Norton's Wood," in Cambridge, Hyatt, too, became one of the popular hosts to social functions.

The club meetings were sparkling affairs, pervaded with an atmosphere of cigar smoke, wit, and good-fellowship. A number of the letters in the Hyatt Collection relate to the activities of the clubs or resulted from friendships which grew out of the club gatherings, and reflect the punning style of the meetings. Because of the interest attaching to the writers themselves, a few instances from the letters illustrating this spirit of pleasantry seem worthy of inclusion here.

The historian and librarian, Justin Winsor, on the occasion of Hyatt's summer residence at Duxbury, Massachusetts, dubbed Hyatt a "Duxburongtrian" and in the course of his letter remarked,

> I suppose you will go over to Plymouth soon to hear your brother Kentucky declaim about Plymouth Rock, and say how he wished he could have been there. The Irish poet too is to see how it seems to kiss the Blarney Stone of the Old Colony—so it is said. I hope he will forget the wrongs of Ireland for once.[20]

One of the most illustrious of the club members made the informal style a characteristic of his learned works in a manner which has endeared him to students of psychology and philosophy for over half a century. William James wrote the following letter in connection with a club meeting after Hyatt had made his home in Cambridge:

[20] Justin Winsor to Alpheus Hyatt, July 18, 1889. I have been unable to identify "brother Kentucky" or the "Irish Poet."

Saturday night [1878]

My dear Hyatt

I meant to have brought you the list in person one night last week but on the point of starting found that I had forgotten your accursed street and so waited till Shaler [21] told me. (I had not the wit to look on the list where I now see it!) I can't go tonight on acc[ount] of a sick family and it is rather doubtful whether I can get an evening in the week to make my long postponed visit to you. I leave for Baltimore Friday or Saturday and so to my great sorrow cannot share your grub or hear your talk. Give 'em your poorest and keep your best till next time when I shall be there.

Truly yours

Wm. James

A notorious activity of William James was the investigation of that scientific fringe area of psychic powers. Both he and Hyatt were members of the Psychical Society and the following letter relates to a case of supernatural powers which Hyatt had experienced:

[*c.* 1889]

My dear Hyatt

A thousand thanks for coming so spendidly up to time! Would that other phantasts were like unto you!

One more request: may I print your illusion as it stands, with one or two other illustrative cases in the chapter relative thereto of a book which I am preparing? [22] And may I print your learned name? It makes things more real to do so.

Truly yours

Wm. James

Despite the convivial character of the clubs and *salons*, they were more than social gatherings. They were also informal associations for the promotion of American intellectual life and the self-improvement of the participants. Mrs. Ticknor, for instance, was a founder of the Society to Encourage Studies at Home, and Hyatt often found himself giving talks on natural science to the ladies.[23] The club meetings, too, had a heavy

[21] Nathaniel S. Shaler (1841-1906), professor of geology at Harvard, dean of Lawrence Scientific School, and geologist in charge of Atlantic Division of the U. S. Geological Survey.

[22] *Principles of Psychology*, 2 vols., (New York, 1890). On p. 102, Vol. II, James gives Hyatt's experience in Venice which he had thought to be a supernatural manifestation but which proved to be a shadow from the moonlight cast through his bedroom curtains.

[23] Anna E. Ticknor to Alpheus Hyatt, Feb. 14, 1884.

intellectual fare following their sumptuous dinners, too heavy for the taste of some members as the musician John K. Paine implied when he wrote to Hyatt, "I shall be delighted to be present Saturday evening to hear your learned address, which will be as clear as mud to me. If I am able to understand it I may offer to set it to music, if this meets your approval." [24]

The social clubs brought Hyatt into friendly contact with a varied group of intellectuals—naturalists, poets, artists, musicians, clergymen, and literary men—who shared in each other's specialized interests, if not with complete understanding, at least with a feeling of approbation for one another. The cosmopolitan equality of the clubs also created a comradeship between the professors and the dispensers of endowments, the latter being proud to display the intellectual achievements of their culture to visiting persons of importance from Europe. These social relationships might seem peripheral to science, but they should not be underestimated in the mechanics of getting things done. When Bickmore moved into the New York area to build an institution for natural science, he understood that his success depended, among other things, on how well his organization was supported by persons of influence.

Without implying in any manner whatever that Hyatt "used" his social prestige, the fact remains that his widespread friendships with cultural leaders were of inestimable value to his entrepreneurial enterprises for the advancement of science. The social life about Boston also provided Hyatt with a congenial setting for the expression of his humanitarian impulses, inseparable from his desire to spread the gospel of science.

Hyatt was deeply concerned over the failure of the educational systems to prepare young recruits for a life of science. He was an ardent disciple of Agassiz's teaching methods which, long before Dewey, emphasized learning by doing. Hyatt charged that instead of teaching students the discipline of observation, the schools tried to teach through the media of books on the same basis as mathematics and the languages.

> In some places even, [Hyatt remarked], a tendency towards investigation is considered a disqualification, since it withdraws the mind from giving

[24] John K. Paine to Alpheus Hyatt, n. d. John Knowles Paine (1839-1906), American composer, organist, and director of music at Harvard College.

full attention to the practical duties of the classroom. . . . Undoubtedly, the teacher in such places may need and acquire a certain amount of dexterity and success as a mental taxidermist; but that he will ever intentionally train a single student to do original work is beyond belief.[25]

To remedy the situation Hyatt, with the backing of his friends, had instituted the Teachers School of Science.

By encouraging the public school teachers to learn the art of careful observation in natural science, Hyatt hoped to bring enlightened teaching methods into the public school system. He encountered some opposition to his plan, even within the ranks of the Teachers School as he discovered when he tried to interest Ellen H. Richards, one of the teachers, in becoming supervisor of the school. Mrs. Richards flatly refused saying:

. . . I do not believe every teacher *can be* fitted by any number of courses in science to teach science properly to the pupils of grammar school grade. I believe that we shall have a really effective science teaching only when this fact is recognized, as it already is in the case of Music and Drawing! and when a director of science teaching is appointed who shall have charge of the work in the whole city, with a central laboratory at command.

While I appreciate the efforts which the teachers school of science have made, I have, I hope, through my work in that direction, earned the right to say, when I am driven to bay, that I consider it like pouring water through a sieve so far as true science teaching in our schools goes.[26]

Mrs. Richards, an instructor of sanitation chemistry, foreshadowed the philosophy of efficiency, specialization, and administrative centralization of a later period in her proposed remedy to the problem of producing scientists through the public school system. Hyatt had a more humanitarian measure of the work he was doing, however, for he belonged to the poetic school of nature typified by his friends Emerson and Longfellow; he wanted, not only to teach the facts and methods of science, but to instill in the children a genuine appreciation of the richness and majestic quality of nature as well. Many testimonials to his teaching indicate that Hyatt, like Agassiz before him, seasoned the rigors of learning with the charm of a nature enthusiast.

Although the effect of the Teachers School on the course of science cannot be ascertained, it undoubtedly was beneficial in

[25] Alpheus Hyatt, " The Business of a Naturalist," *Science,* Vol. III, No. 49 (Jan. 11, 1884), p. 44. *ff.*

[26] Ellen H. Richards to Alpheus Hyatt, [*c.* 1887].

spreading interest in science. Even though the instructors volunteered their services, regular courses of lectures were presented, and a series of readable handbooks was written by Hyatt and others for the guidance of the teachers. About 1,200 teachers had taken advantage of the school by the end of the century,[27] and they most likely had a chain-reaction effect in passing on their newly-won knowledge to others. In the Hyatt Collection there are letters expressing appreciation for the educational opportunities Hyatt had made available at the Teachers College and at his summer school at Annisquam, but the most fitting tribute to his services to the public was the Hyatt Memorial, an endowment raised through subscriptions after Hyatt's death to enable city children from Boston to be taken out into the countryside for nature study.

Aside from his kindly interest in making more people appreciate the study of nature, Hyatt also considered the popularization of science to be of fundamental importance to the progress of science itself. The promoters of science had to face apathy among large sections of the people and often vigorous opposition, particularly among religious groups who saw in science a growing materialism and challenge to the Scriptures. In a country like America where the power of the people in legislation could seriously restrict the conditions of research, our scientists had the added duty of winning public approval for their work. Hyatt called attention to this fact in his presidential address to the Society of American Naturalists in 1884. He pointed out how otherwise well-informed people were coming to regard science with hostility, emphasizing how anti-vivisection movements were restricting physiological research. He blamed the scientists for a failure to recognize their social responsibilities because of their fatal fascination with a "cloister-like seclusion in abstraction." [28]

Hyatt realized that science does not exist in a vacuum, but in a social environment which exerts a continuous pressure on its results. He felt that the time scientists might gain for investigation by remaining at home and standing aloof from popular disturbances would inevitably mean a loss of influence and the possible loss of future facilities for the prosecution of their work. In his address to the naturalists, Hyatt stated that one of the most important purposes of their organization was to take measures to

[27] Mayer, *op. cit.*, p. 135. [28] Hyatt, *op. cit.*

enlighten the people regarding the benefits of science and to prevent the growth of prejudices which might in time paralyze the advance of science in America. Through popular education the scientist must take an active part in creating an environment favorable to the growth of science.

Identifying scientific progress with the progress of civilization, Hyatt devoted much of his time to public education. So, too, in New York Bickmore worked for the enlightenment of the public through the Department of Public Instruction of the American Museum of Natural History. At the National Museum in Washington another of Hyatt's friends was carrying on the same goal, though without the social approbation Hyatt and Bickmore enjoyed. Lester F. Ward lacked the gregarious quality and was critical of the professional orthodoxy which had accompanied the academicians in their rise to power in science. Ward's work in biology was respectable enough, but his claim to fame was in sociology and the academicians revenged themselves by ignoring it, although in Europe Ward enjoyed many honors, including the presidency of the *Institut International de Sociologie* at the Sorbonne in 1903.

Ward was suspect in the eyes of the academicians on two counts: He was thought to be a materialist, and he openly advocated more government action in the social process. Sharing in the same faith as Hyatt that mass education, especially in science, was one of the keys to progress in civilization, Ward was impatient with the pace of the philanthropic process, but in spite of his impatience and the hostility he aroused, Ward continued to do what he could through the voluntaristic lecture system on behalf of public instruction.

Hyatt recognized Ward's merits in science, if not in sociology, and wanted to nominate him for election to the National Academy of Sciences. Ward was dubious about his chances of election, feeling that his works " would have an unfavorable influence on the average academician." [29] However, in answer to Hyatt's request for a list of his works to be submitted with the nomination, he sent about forty of his scientific papers to Hyatt's summer home, or, as he put it, " cleaned out the Augean stables and dumped the refuse on the beach of Annisquam." In a discussion about the selection of works to be submitted, Ward related the

[29] Lester F. Ward to Alpheus Hyatt, Sep. 3, 1901.

following anecdote which reveals some of the perils facing a non-conformist:

There is another paper that I consider one of my best, entitled: Status of the Mind Problem. You will find it in two forms, and thereby hangs a tale. It was one of our Saturday lectures, and was delivered at the National Museum under the auspices of the Anthropological Society of Washington, of which I was then, I think, vice-president for Psychology. Some one, not I, had arranged to have these Saturday lectures published in the Smithsonian Report. I knew nothing of it, saw no proof, and supposed the Ms was in the hands of the Secretary of the Anthrop. Soc., where I placed it according to instructions. But one day Professor Goode [30] asked me to come over, and showed me my 100 reprints from the Smithsonian Report. He said he had consulted with the Secretary and it had been decided that it would not do to have it appear in the Sm. Rep., as the public might complain that the Institution was using public funds to propagate materialistic ideas. I told him that if I had known it I would have objected myself to its publication there, not on that ground, but because it does not properly contain any original research. Professor Langley [31] afterwards took pains to assure me that he had no objection to the doctrine, but thought such papers ought to appear in some independent journal of free discussion, in which I, of course, fully agreed with him. The paper was expunged from the report. Professor Goode said I could have and distribute the reprints on condition that I would remove the covers, which alone indicated that it was out of the Smithsonian Report. The Anthrop, Soc. obtained the electroplates from the Government Printing Office and published it as a special paper of the Society. The public got wind of it (not through me) and there was a lively discussion in the newspapers all over the country. Nearly all the papers severely attacked the Secretary for suppressing free speech. Even clergymen wrote letters to the same effect. They said: "Of course it is rank materialism, but we want free speech in this country."

The curious thing was that, as you can see, the paper was chiefly an argument to prove the mind is *immaterial*! One day soon, after, Professors Marsh and Goode, were sitting together in the rotunda of the Museum as I passed, and Professor Marsh stopped me and said he wanted me to send him that paper. He had read some one's copy, and it was the best thing he ever read. He knew a good thing when he saw it. I suggested that Professor Goode would not probably agree with him (it was really all his doings as he was very religious). I thought he would sink into the floor.[32]

As Ward had expected, he was not elected to the National Academy of Sciences. Since the bulk of his work dealt with

[30] George Brown Goode (1851-1896), prominent member of Fisheries Commission, Smithsonian Institution, and director of National Museum.

[31] Samuel Pierpont Langley (1834-1906), astronomer, physicist, and Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. Langley is best known today for his work in developing the airplane.

[32] Lester F. Ward to Alpheus Hyatt, Aug. 24, 1901.

sociological matters, the membership of the Academy probably questioned whether such materials constituted contributions to knowledge.

The drive in Ward, Bickmore, Hyatt, and a host of others to promote and diffuse scientific knowledge, in addition to being firmly rooted in their republican and Enlightenment heritage, was closely interwoven with a widespread scientific philosophy of environmentalism. Indeed, the philosophy of environmentalism was one of the most important of the social forces in the late 18th and the 19th centuries, but it had moved from the hands of the philosophers to those of the scientists in the 19th century. The earlier environmentalists had relied heavily on the psychological theories of John Locke which were interpreted to mean that all men came into the world with equal mental capacities and that the difference between the average plowhand and the genius was the result of environmental opportunities. Improve the environment and the human product would likewise be improved. Lester F. Ward came to virtually the same conclusions in his sociological studies of genius, but he had new evidence on which to draw the analogy, evidence that Hyatt had taken a leading part in developing.

Today Darwinism and evolution are usually indiscriminately lumped together as synonyms, but in the 19th century Alpheus Hyatt and E. D. Cope had developed a straight environmentalistic theory of evolution which accorded only a secondary role to Darwin's theory of natural selection. This theory, Neo-Lamarckianism, won many converts, including Lester F. Ward, and as late as 1918, Charles Schuchert, in a survey of the past century of geology, could say, " In America most of the paleontologists are Neo-Lamarckian, a school that was developed independently by E. D. Cope . . . through vertebrate evidence, and Alpheus Hyatt . . . mainly on the evidence of ammonites." [33]

The rudiments of Neo-Lamarckianism began to take shape in Hyatt's mind shortly after Darwin's *Origin of Species* made its debut in 1859 and while he was still a student of Louis Agassiz. In adopting the idea of evolution Hyatt asserted his intellectual independence from his teacher, for Agassiz was one of Darwin's most adamant opponents among the naturalists. Although much

[33] Charles Schuchert, " A Century of Geology: The Progress of Historical Geology in North America," *A Century of Science in America* (New Haven, Conn., 1918).

of his work had pointed in the direction of a theory of evolution, Agassiz balked at the idea that species were in a state of flux and took their form as a result of the Malthusian laws of " struggle for existence ' 'and " survival of the fittest," because he held the religious conviction that species were God-given and immutable. He attacked Darwin's hypothesis of evolution as the flimsiest speculation and totally unscientific. Darwin's logic was cogent and his theories were sustained by subsequent investigation, but at the time Agassiz was on firm ground in accusing Darwin of abandoning facts in favor of imaginative deductions since there was no conclusive proof to support the theory of evolution. Agassiz's position was strong, but Hyatt turned to the camp of the evolutionists.

Hyatt decided to test the hypothesis of evolution on a large collection of ammonite fossils which the Museum had acquired, and by employing embryological methods he traced the evolution of the ammonites, formulating out of his study the theory that adult stages tended to appear earlier in successive generations by omitting some of the younger stages of development. He published his theory as the " law of acceleration " in 1866 and sent a copy to Darwin who tucked it away in his library and forgot it after noting on its back, " I cannot avoid thinking this paper fanciful." [34]

In the meantime Professor Cope arrived at a similar theory and published it a few months after Hyatt's paper. Darwin took cognizance of Cope's theory and included it in the sixth edition of his *Origin of Species* (pp. 137-8) as a possible mode of transition in the evolution of species. When his attention was called to the fact of Hyatt's earlier publication, Darwin wrote an apologetic letter to Hyatt which opened a correspondence and friendship between them.[35] No one appreciated Darwin's contribution to biology more than Hyatt, and when Darwin told him in 1881 he was aware that Hyatt felt he had done nothing for the " Descent-theory," Hyatt was dismayed to think he had become classified as an opponent to Darwin's theories. Nevertheless, it was true that he had reached the point where he thought Darwinism failed to

[34] Francis Darwin, *More Letters of Charles Darwin,* 2 vols. (New York, 1903), II, 339, note 1.

[35] There are five letters in the Hyatt Collection from Charles Darwin. All but one were published by Francis Darwin, *op. cit.* There are also five letters from Francis Darwin in the Collection dealing with the publication of the correspondence between his father and Hyatt.

explain the actual " origin " of species, though he readily admitted that it did account for the survival of species after they had been generated.

From his study of ammonite fossils Hyatt had become convinced that the changes in form and organization of bodily structure in the ammonites was directly correlated with the pressures of their physical environment. While Darwin believed that new or variant characteristics appeared fortuitously, and were preserved, if advantageous, through natural selection, Hyatt maintained that the environment acted directly in causing those changes which led to the formation of new species. When Cope came forward with the same environmentalist views as Hyatt, they joined forces in pressing for a modification of the Darwinian theory of evolution.

The similarity of the Hyatt-Cope theory to that of a pre-Darwinian evolutionist, Lamarck (1744-1829), led to a revival of interest in the 18th century philospher who suggested that the giraffe's neck got that way from reaching for leaves in tall trees, and the Hyatt-Cope theory took on the name of Neo-Lamarckianism as it gained recruits.[36] Lacking the 20th century knowledge of genetics, this theory seemed to many paleontologists to accord most satisfactorily with the facts in their field. It would not be too much to say that a whole generation of American paleontologists carried out their research by adopting the views and methods of Neo-Lamarckianism. That Hyatt was a recognized leader of the movement is apparent in letters of the Collection, especially in the explicit tribute of Robert T. Jackson who told Hyatt:

> In my paper which I want to go to the printers tomorrow if I can get it off I want to speak of those who work on stages, acceleration &c as Beecher, Smith &c as the Hyatt School. I dont suppose you object. It certainly is a school in its definite methods and aims and certainly recognizes you as its head.[37]

Although Hyatt was influential among his fellow workers, he has remained relatively unrecognized in the broad history of 19th century evolutionary thought. He did not leave large theoretical treatises behind for the historian to evaluate, and his modesty prevented him from giving his views wide publicity. Added to this, Hyatt's works often suffered from a ponderous and complex

[36] A discussion of the Neo-Lamarckian school can be found in Chapter XX of Alpheus S. Packard's *Lamarck, The Founder of Evolution, His Life and Work* (New York, 1901).

[37] Robert T. Jackson to Alpheus Hyatt, Sept. 6, 1898.

style. When he gave popular talks he could put his ideas across in plain language, but when he wrote for a scientific public he strove for an excessive precision of terms which even the experts had difficulty in following. Recognizing that Hyatt was burying his importance beneath too much technical jargon, Professor C. O. Whitman [38] took upon himself the friendly duty of trying to help Hyatt see his shortcomings. The following excerpts from Whitman's letter are blunt, but pertinent for he knew that Hyatt was big enough to take his criticism in the spirit of sincere friendship:

> I am glad if you find my little paper of any interest. I hope you do not think I underestimate your main results. On the contrary, I look upon them as an enduring monument in the science. I want to confess however, that while I think you have placed the *main* fact beyond dispute, I do not see that you have anywhere shown that the Lamarckian mode of interpretation is the correct one. . . .
>
> I wish you would put the *history* of the one characteristic you traced into the form of a lecture, with a plentiful supply of illustrations. If you would do so, and do it in the *simplest possible English,* throwing terminology to the winds, you would do us a great service. Let us have the story in the style of Huxley's story of the horse pedigree, so simple that it becomes a pleasure to read. . . .
>
> It is literally true that you have hurt your own cause and hindered the recognition of the truths you have discovered, by loading them down with what seems to me superfluous and very repelling terminology. In these days of much writing, we require simplicity of language, not an over burden of new terms. Especially does this hold in all departments of biology where there is much difference of opinion on fundamental matters. Even in the dept. of neurology, where we must have a good supply of terms, it is possible to so overdo the matter as to actually nauseate the reader. I think Darwin, Balfour, and Huxley are among the best models in biological writing, and how simple, direct, and clear these authors are. How very few terms they invent.[39]

Though Hyatt had difficulty in making his theoretical position lucid, relying heavily on personal influence to perpetuate his theories, his memoirs on the classification of fossils were models of their kind. The Lamarckian views were there, but were subdued by the practical demands of presenting the data of research. Praise for his papers on the Cephalopoda came from all quarters of the world. From France Charles Barroit wrote, " Not only are

[38] Charles Otis Whitman (1842-1910), zoologist, director of the Marine Laboratory at Woods Hole, 1888-1908, curator Zoological Museum at University of Chicago, and editor of a number of publications.

[39] C. O. Whitman to Alpheus Hyatt, Oct. 25 [*c.* 1897].

your works on the Cephalopods interesting in themselves, but they have deservedly served as models to an entire school, which considers you to be the founder of true scientific phylogeny." [40] Dr. Fischer commended Hyatt on one of his papers and remarked that it " would have a great influence on the paleontologists who are looking for a guide in phylogeny in order to reach the most perfect classification of fossils." [41]

English naturalists were no less enthusiastic over Hyatt's work. Darwin regarded Hyatt as an authority on the Stenheim fossil deposits. Huxley wrote, " I should be very ignorant of that which I ought to know if I were not acquainted with your name & works in relation to the Cephalopoda." [42] Richard Owen, who seldom agreed with either Darwin or Huxley, acknowledged that one of Hyatt's memoirs was " a model of the way & aim in & by which such researches should be conducted in the present phase of Biology." [43] Referring to another work, Owen exclaimed, " Rarely have I studied any Paper with more profit & pleasure! " [44] In Germany the foremost historian of geology and paleontology, Karl von Zittel, referred to Hyatt as the leading man in paleontological Cephalopods.[45]

In the face of the encomiums about his work in classification, Hyatt, with a customary modesty, wanted credit to go where credit was due and in the preface to a study on the fossil group Arietidae declared his debt to his former teacher by saying:

> I desire to record my deep sense of obligation to the late Prof. Louis Agassiz, under whose direction my studies upon the Arietidae were begun. His instruction and advice were none the less valuable because we differed in theoretical views; to him I owe the methods of observation which are used in all my work.[46]

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[40] Charles Barroit to Alpheus Hyatt, Apr. 22, 1898 [In French]. Charles Eugene Barroit (1851-?), noted geologist of the University of Lille, France, and member of the French Institute.

[41] P. Fischer to Alpheus Hyatt, Apr. 23, 1890 [In French]. Paul Henry Fischer (1835-1893), well-recognized paleontologist and authority on Brachiata fossils.

[42] Thomas H. Huxley to Alpheus Hyatt, Sept. 11, 1883.

[43] Richard Owen to Alpheus Hyatt, Oct. 14, 1881.

[44] Richard Owen to Alpheus Hyatt, Feb. 17, 1885.

[45] Quoted in Eastman to Alpheus Hyatt, July 7, 1898 [In German].

[46] Alpheus Hyatt, " Genesis of the Arietidae," *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge,* No. 673 (Washington, D. C., 1889), Vol. 26. For a complete bibliography of Hyatt's papers see memoir of Hyatt by William K. Brook, " Biographical Memoirs," National Academy of Sciences, Vol. 6 (1909).

Hyatt's work in classification owed its excellence to the inductive method which Agassiz had drilled into him as a student: the fact must take precedence over the theory. Like the German scientists and American scholars who made a fetish of the inductive method in the 19th century, Hyatt was certain that his theoretical views had arisen from the facts he had observed. But unfortunately, his specialization in facts became so narrowly channelized that he was unable to prove whether or not the theories derived from his study of the Cephalopoda had any general validity. Had he been more concerned with the theoretical aspect of science instead of constantly accumulating more data in the same direction, Hyatt might have exerted far more influence on the course of science than he did.

Hyatt's conception of science also minimized the importance of the recluse in "cloister-like seclusion in abstraction" in favor of the socially useful individual who was up and doing, gathering facts, promoting science, organizing societies, and building institutions. This was the kind of scientist America needed for her pioneering stage of science and the efforts of Agassiz, Hyatt, Bickmore, and others of their type played an important role in revolutionizing the status of natural science in the 19th century and making their environment a fruitful field for scientific growth. American was busy filling out her bodily structure in science as well as in economics, but she was drawing heavily on European sources for that "pure theory" which seems to originate among scientists who treasure the social isolation attacked by Hyatt.

The scientific progress which Hyatt valued so highly needs the lonely thinker as well as the promoter. In biology, for instance, a retiring naturalist who avoided the public arena as he pondered on the origin of species gave to Hyatt's profession a new direction in 1859. At the close of Hyatt's career the principles of heredity worked out by the Viennese monk, Gregor Mendel, as he studied peas in his "cloister-like seclusion" again altered the course of Hyatt's profession and relegated Neo-Lamarckism into obscurity. As a result of the rise of genetics, the extreme environmentalist views which were held by the many correspondents in the Hyatt Collection are no longer in vogue in the Western World, but fortunately the vitality and faith of these 19th century Americans in their mission of making a better American environment has continued to be a part of the national tradition.

TUDOR HALL AND THOSE WHO LIVED THERE

By Martha Sprigg Poole

SITUATED at the top of a hill commanding a magnificent view of Breton Bay below stands Tudor Hall, former home of the Barnes and Key families and now the St. Mary's County Memorial Library. It is on the outskirts of Leonardtown in St. Mary's County.

The building has had at least three forms: (1) As it was when it belonged to the Barnes family and perhaps others prior to 1815; (2) As it was from about 1815 to 1950 when it belonged to members of the Key family; and (3) As it is today after being remodeled in 1950 under the direction of Miss Gertrude Sawyer, architect, of Washington, D. C. Those who see it now are looking at a rectangular structure, 90 by 30 feet. The rose-colored bricks show great irregularity and give evidence of some of the changes that the building has undergone. Four massive interior chimneys and an attractive "look-out" rise from the hipped roof. On the water side an inset loggia with four columns and an interesting floor of slaps of field stone [1] with four stone steps leading to the doorway welcomes the visitor. A well-proportioned, traditional porch gives access from what was formerly the garden at the rear.

As the visitor stands on the wide pavement of squared weathered brick which extends across the front of the loggia, he is immediately struck by the variations in the patterns of brick in the facade.[2] The ends of the building to the height of the first story are constructed of large old brick. Toward the center the walls are of smaller later brick. On either side of the loggia perpendicular

[1] Tradition has it that they came from Aquia Creek, Virginia, which is near the home of Thomson Mason. He married Mary Barnes, daughter of Abraham Barnes, who acquired Tudor Hall in 1744.

[2] Until last year the exterior was covered with a smooth yellow stucco. Removal of the stucco revealed Flemish bond brickwork in the old wings and common bond in the newer portions.

joints or lines in the brick work show where the original walls have been continued toward the center. Seven courses of brick of the later work are required to match six courses of the older work. A relieving arch over the entire width of the loggia has been filled in with later brick. It is obvious that the oldest parts now visible were once two one-story identical wings and that later construction filled in the space between them and also raised the house to its present height. The whole presents today the appearance of symmetry and thoughtful design.

The interior is now arranged to meet Tudor Hall's present function as the county library. On entering the door the visitor finds himself in a large room formed by removing the partition between the central hall and the parlor. The most interesting feature of the first floor is the stairway, as graceful in design as it is agreeable to use. Its general lines are those of the colonial period, though the railing and newel post are of later date. In the ceiling of the second floor above the stairway is an attractive but simple plaster decoration. There is little ornamental woodwork. The mantels appear to date after 1800. Several of them have tapering fluted columns. One is of marble enclosing an ornate iron fireplace.

The most interesting room is the kitchen reached from within by several steps down to a brick floor. The wall toward the house is mostly taken up with a large fireplace equipped with a crane. On the left next to the fireplace is an arched opening with a door in the brick work where bread or meats were cooked. It is lined with metal and has a door below it for deposit of coals and a small amount of wood. Beyond this at left is the hot water tank with spigot and similar heating arrangement, a most unusual feature. The fire and ash compartments have separate doors. This kitchen is substantially as it was when Tudor Hall belonged to the Key family.

The Barnes family owned the property from 1744 to 1804. In 1798, when Richard Barnes was the owner, it was described as follows by the tax assessor:

A Dwelling house of wood 46 by 22 feet an addition of Brick to each end, 30 by 22 ft. 8 windows 4½ by 2½ ft. 10 do. 3½ by 1½ ft. Kitchen of wood 36 by 20 ft. Store 20 ft. square, Meat house 16 ft. square Corn House 28 by 16 ft. in good repair situated at Leon[d]Town [3]

[3] St. Mary's Co. Tax Assessment Records of 1798 (Book "D"), pp. [10-11], Maryland Historical Society.

This description suggests that the central section may have been of the story-and-a-half marine type, with small dormer windows. Other St. Mary's County houses of this type were built in the early 18th century. The original section of Tudor Hall, therefore, may have been built by one of the predecessors of Abraham Barnes: Perhaps one of the Barnes family added the brick wings.[4]

The dimensions of this 1798 building fit in exactly with those of the remodeled Tudor Hall of Key family occupancy. Miss Sawyer found many evidences of re-used timber in the brick central section. All things considered, there seems little, if any, reason to doubt that the stages in the evolution of Tudor Hall have been (1) the construction of the central wooden structure, (2) the addition of two one-story brick wings, (3) the removal of the central wooden structure, at which time (4) the central brick portion was built and the second story was added to the whole building. Then or subsequently the whole exterior was covered with smooth yellow stucco divided into rectangles about eight by fourteen inches in size.

Tudor Hall of the time of the Key family represented the home of a cultured country gentleman of the 19th century. If not a striking architectural gem, it betokened stability and "solid comfort," and it exuded the gracious hospitality and security that characterized life in such surroundings. The interior of Tudor Hall during this period can be reconstructed by examining the floor plans and by referring to the inventory of the estate of Henry Greenfield Sothoron Key who lived there from about 1817 to his death in 1872.[5] To complete the picture, we have the recollections of Henry's grandson, Dr. Sothoron Key of Washington, D. C., who was born at Tudor Hall and subsequently was one of its owners until 1947.[6] The traditional central hall was extended through the house. Turning to the left (upon entering from the water side) one found oneself in the "parlor," a functional room where the family gathered ordinarily but which was also used for "company" dinners. The inventory of H. G. S. Key's estate for

[4] It has often been stated that Tudor Hall was built by Abraham Barnes about 1756 or 1760. In the light of the official description of the house in 1798, this supposition is open to challenge. In any case, Barnes left for England in 1761 intending to make it his permanent residence. It is unlikely he would have built a new mansion on the eve of his departure. He advertised the place for rent in 1760, and presumably he did not act on impulse.

[5] St. Mary's Co. Inventories, June 12, 1872 Court House, Leonardtown.

[6] The writer is grateful to Dr. Key for his helpfulness.

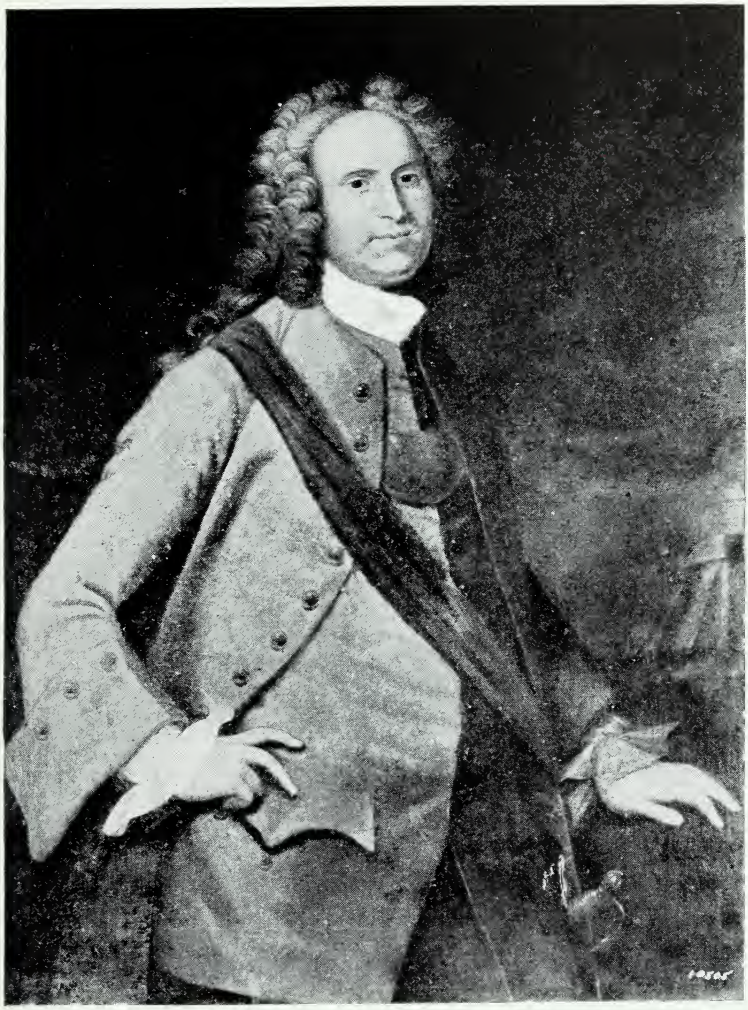
this room includes three large mahogany tables and a sideboard. Here on court days hearty meals were spread for local and visiting jurists, lawyers, and others having business at the county seat.

From the parlor one passed either into the drawing room at left or into the " parlor closet " at right. The drawing room, approximately 22′ by 19′, contained Victorian furniture, including a Brussels carpet, piano, sofa, marble slab table, two card tables, and a checker board. Here hung portraits of the Key family and pictures of General George Washington, Roger B. Taney, James Buchanan, and John Randolph, as well as a picture of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. The " parlor closet " was in reality a small library and sort of male sanctum combined with a place to keep the best table linen, china, and glass.

Turning right from the center hall, one passed under the stairs to a long hall from which opened the family dining room or breakfast room. A modern housekeeper is appalled by the fact that to reach the kitchen from the breakfast room it was necessary to go through the hall and housekeeper's room — at least 28 feet, and then down three steps into the kitchen which was approximately 23 by 15 feet. We can understand why, even with slaves, many women died young in those days! In the housekeeper's room and adjoining storeroom were kept the table silver, every-day china and glass, provisions, and supplies.

On the second floor were eight rooms. These rooms included the Master's room, nursery, " red room," " white room," " far room " and three other rooms, one of which was used for storage in the 19th century. They contained the usual bedroom furniture of the time including bed with feather mattress, washstand, bowl, and pitcher. All rooms on the second floor had open fire-places necessitating andirons, fenders, shovels, and tongs. The " press room " contained blankets and linens. It was also a " tuck hole," such as exists in the best regulated houses, into which (according to the inventory of H. G. S. Key's estate) for want of a better place had gone such miscellaneous objects as " old articles "; a broken lamp holder; saddle, bridle and blanket of the deceased; scraps; sacks; a double-barrelled shotgun; thermometer; and watering pot.

Dr. Key recalls that the house was surrounded by a beautiful garden and park. The garden was laid out into formal plots separated by gravel paths and outlined by shrubs and flowers. By his time, the location of the graveyard of the former owners, the

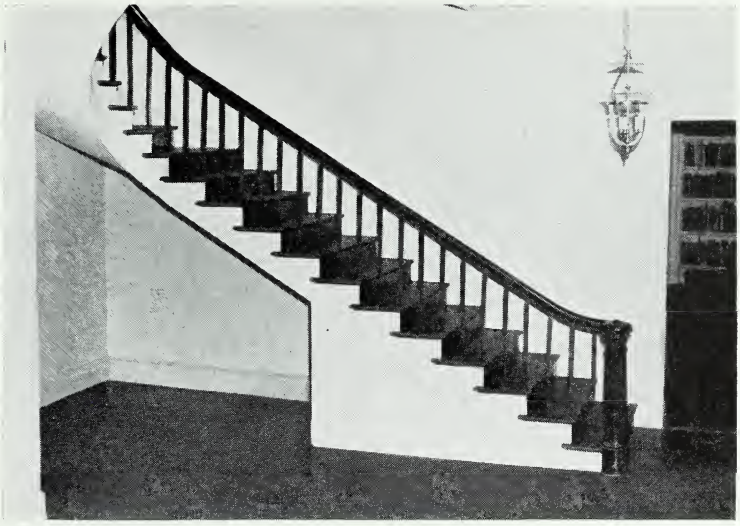


COL. ABRAHAM BARNES (Ca. 1715-1778)

This portrait has sometimes been identified as a picture of Col. John Barnes, ancestor of Abraham Barnes. Judging by the costume, it must have been painted in the mid-18th century, thus in the middle years of Abraham Barnes' life. Traditionally attributed to Sir Godfrey Kneller, it was undoubtedly made many years after Kneller's death (1723). The resemblance to the work of John Wollaston, active in Maryland 1754-55, is striking.

Photograph from Frick Art Reference Library by courtesy of the owner, Mrs. Mason Porter Cusachs.

TUDOR HALL BEFORE THE ALTERATIONS OF 1950



MAIN STAIRWAY IN TUDOR HALL

FIREPLACE AND OVENS IN KITCHEN CHIMNEY

GARDEN FRONT

Perpendicular joint in brickwork may be seen to the right of porch

Barnes family, had become largely traditional; the stones were no longer in existence and, as a boy, Dr. Key thought of it solely as the place where the best wild asparagus grew!

Many fine trees formerly surrounded the house. These are remembered by some who regret the fact that numbers of them have been removed. In addition to stately oaks there still are today a magnificent yew, very large and rare, several horse-chestnuts, catalpas, paulownias, and mimosas as well as some American box.

There remain just a few of the former outbuildings. The inventory of H. G. S. Key's estate lists the usual farm animals and implements. Five yoke of oxen, each animal individually named, were valued high by the appraisers who also listed a McCormick reaper at $10, a drill at $100, the family carriage at $150 and another large carriage at $50.

Many details concerning Tudor Hall will never be known since a fire in 1831 destroyed most St. Mary's county records. This unfortunate circumstance means that there are gaps not only in the history of the building but in the biographies of those who lived there. We can, however, fill in the main outlines of the lives of these men and women — the original owners of the land, Philip Lynes, Abraham and Richard Barnes, John Thomson Mason, and several generations of the Key family.

The first owners of the land where Tudor Hall now stands may or may not have had a house there. They were Bartram Obert [7] and Dominick ——— to whom the land was granted in 1649 for transporting themselves into the Province in 1646. Nothing more is known of these original owners, except that in the Assembly Proceedings for this period there is a reference to a " Monsieur Obert " which may mean that he was of French origin. This is borne out by the fact that their claim for land was presented by John Jarboe, a prominent early settler from France. The names of the grantees seem to have been strange to the Land Office clerks, who entered a dash for the last name of Dominick, and list Obert one place as Bartholomew and elsewhere as Bertram. According to the claim put in by Jarboe, there was Bartram Obert and also Bartram Obert his son under 16 years of age. The land surveyed was on the east side of Breton's Bay, 200 acres

[7] Obert may be the same person found in references in E. G. Swem, *Virginia Historical Index* (Roanoke, 1936) II, 349.

in all, for which the owners were to pay a yearly rent of four shillings sterling or two bushels of good corn.[8]

On an early Rent Roll, this tract is called "Little St. Lawrence."[9] On a later Rent Roll, however, it is referred to as "Shepherd's Fields Possessor Phillip Lynes of Charles County, William Bright, his tenant."[10]

Although Phillip Lynes lived from about 1649[11] to 1709, he reveals all the characteristics of the successful big business man as he is usually depicted in later years. Persistent, shrewd, ruthless, he took advantage of every opportunity to improve his position and ended his career a member of His Lordship's Council; dying, he left a large part of his estate to various churches.

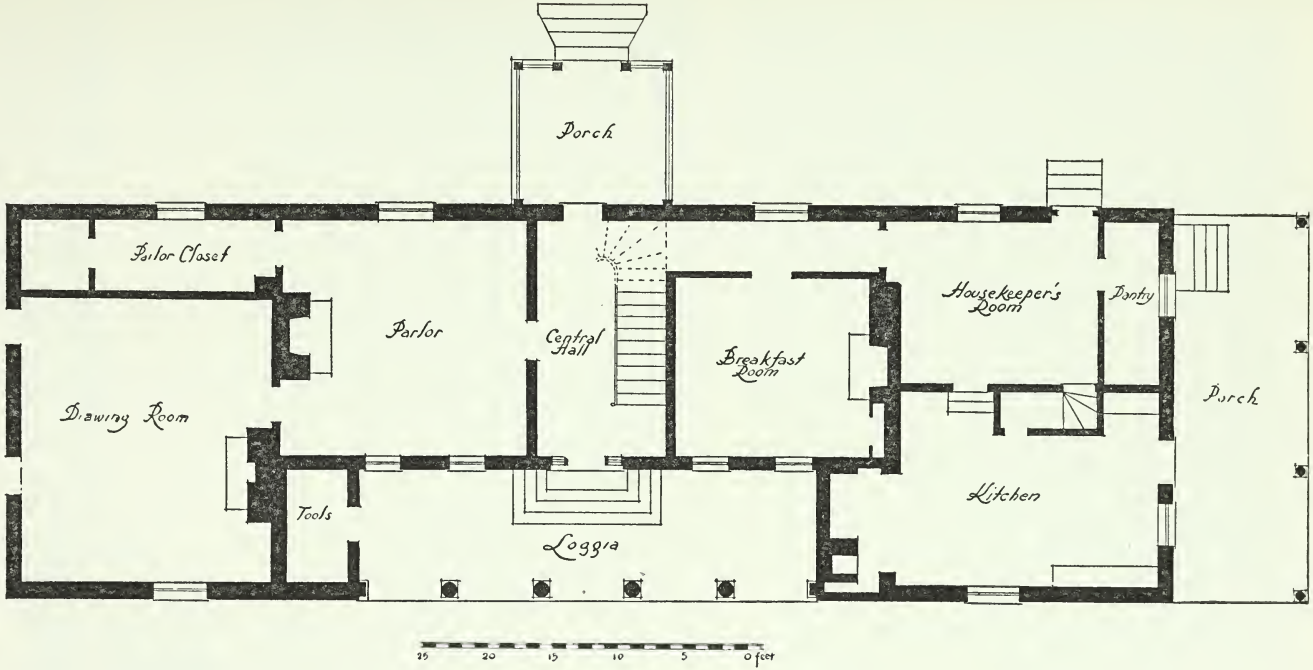
He is first mentioned in the *Archives* in 1670 when he witnessed a deed in Charles County.[12] Within a few years he had become established as an innkeeper with ordinaries at Portobacco and St. Mary's City.[13] Here he entertained the great and the lowly.

For many of the great he was paid from the Public Levy. But many of the less well-to-do found Lynes' hospitality too tempting for their pocket-books, as a consequence of which Lynes was a perennial litigant throughout his life, seeking in the courts judgments against his many debtors. When death removed any of the latter, Lynes lost no time in seeking to be appointed administrator of their estates.[14]

Lynes' ordinary at St. Mary's City served in various capacities. In addition to its function as an inn, it at one time or another served as a place of meeting for the Council, as an office for the Provincial authorities, or as a place to keep prisoners.[15] He frequently reported to the government officials that he had heard this or that seditious utterance, and he never lost an opportunity to sign any testimonial being prepared.[16]

All these services gained recognition when, in 1694, he became

[8] Land Certificates, Liber 2, f. 607; Warrant Liber AB and H, f. 26, 38; Patents, A. B. and H, f. 121, Land Office, Annapolis. *Archives of Maryland*, I, 222; X, 376.
[9] Rent Roll, St. Mary's Co., Liber "O," f. 24, Land Office, Annapolis.
[10] Rent Roll, Charles and St. Mary's Co. # 1 and 2, f. 27, Land Office, Annapolis.
[11] *Archives of Maryland,* VIII, 433.
[12] *Ibid.*, LX, 265.
[13] *Ibid.*, LX, 527; XIII, 178.
[14] *Ibid.*, LX, XIII, XXII, *passim.* Testamentary Proceedings, 13, 14, 14a, 15a, *passim*, Hall of Records, Annapolis.
[15] *Archives of Maryland,* XIII, 201, 254, 255; VIII, 120, 259, 419; XVII, 269.
[16] *Ibid.,* XXII, 202; V, 494; VIII, 138, 504; XVII, 70.



River Front

TUDOR HALL, ST. MARY'S COUNTY

Plan of First Floor Before Alterations of 1950

Courtesy Miss Gertrude Sawyer

Mayor of St. Mary's City.[17] As such he made a vigorous protest to the Assembly against removal of the seat of government to Annapolis. After calling attention to the desirable location of St. Mary's City and to the investments made in it by various people, he says the petitioners will promise to run a coach or caravan service to Patuxent areas to transport the burgesses and others. He cites the fact that London is as far from the center of England as St. Mary's and other provincial capitals are from the centers of their respective provinces. The Protestant group then in power was cold to this argument. Money has been spent around Annapolis, too, they say. Petitioners have promised in the past to provide transportation, but have never done so, " and this House believes that the general welfare of the Province ought to take place of that sugar plum and of all the mayor's coaches who as yet has not one. . . . Also, this House conceives that the City of St. Mary's is very unequally ranked with London, Boston, Port Royall, etc." So the petition was denied, and the capital was moved to Annapolis.[18]

In spite of this set-back, Lynes continued his meteoric political career; first, a Gentleman of the Quorum for St. Mary's County,[19] then a Burgess from Charles County,[20] finally a member of the Council.[21] He did not enjoy the latter honor long as he died at Annapolis in August, 1709.[22]

A few days before his death, Lynes made his will. Characteristically, he was indefinite as to his land holdings. To the vestries of Pickawaxon, Newport, Portobacco, and Durham parishes in Charles County and of Piscataway parish in Prince Georges County he left " several tracts mentioned in a former will in my dwelling house which I now cancel." [23] This failure to be specific as to his property gives rise to several questions. Did he own a house where Tudor Hall now stands? Did he have an ordinary on the property? Who acquired " Shepherd's Old Fields "? As pre-

[17] *Ibid.*, XX, 147.
[18] *Ibid.*, XIX, 71-78.
[19] *Ibid.*, XX, 190.
[20] *Ibid.*, XXIV, *passim.*
[21] *Ibid.*, XXVII, *passim.*
[22] Copy, St. Anne's (Annapolis) Parish Record, I, 378: " Was Buried the honble Phillip Lynes Esq. one of her Majtys Honble Counncill " (Aug. 13, 1709) Maryland Historical Society.
[23] Wills, 12, f. 151a-154a, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

viously mentioned, there are no land records of St. Mary's County available to help answer these questions.

Fortunately, some light is thrown on the subject as a result of the circumstance that shortly before his death, Lynes — tireless old schemer that he was — had become an active advocate of moving St. Mary's County Court from St. Mary's City to the head of Breton Bay. On December 1, 1708, His Lordship's Council of which Lynes was then a member, considered a petition to this effect from the inhabitants of St. Mary's County, as a result of which an Act was passed providing Commissioners to purchase and cause to be surveyed, laid out and divided into 100 lots, 50 acres belonging to Philip Lynes on his land called " Shepherd's Old Fields " near the head of Breton Bay. The County Court was to be held there in a Court House which the Commissioners were to have built on an acre of ground donated for that purpose by Philip Lynes. Meanwhile the Justices were to keep the County Court at the house of Thomas Cooper.[24]

It seems that the Assembly, in changing the location of the County Court had overlooked the fact that by a previous Act they had promised that the Court would be continued at St. Mary's City, so, in November, 1710, the Assembly reenacted the Act for holding St. Mary's Court at the Court House " now built at Seymour Town in Shepherd's Old Field." [25]

Meanwhile the Assembly had passed an Act for laying out a town to be called Leonardtown at a place formerly called Seymourtown adjoining the place where the Court House of St. Mary's County then stood. Fifty acres were to be divided into 80 equal lots. The owner of the land was to have first choice of any two lots. No one person could purchase more than one lot during the first four months and during that time only residents of the County could be purchasers. The lot must be built on within twelve months. Evidently no land speculators were to be tolerated! Each house must cover 400 square feet and no chimney was to be constructed of anything but brick or stone. The former purchasers of Seymourtown were to be protected, and no one was to encroach on the property of the heir-at-law of Thomas Cooper, deceased.[26]

[24] *Archives of Maryland,* XXVII, 229, 346.

[25] By 1733 this building had become impaired and decayed. In that year the Assembly voted to build a brick court house on the same site. *Ibid.,* XXVII, 569; XXXIX, 483.

[26] *Ibid.,* XXXVI, 286-289.

The expected rush for Leonardtown lots did not materialize, for in 1730 Thomas Spalding (husband of the heir of Thomas Cooper mentioned above and hence owner of the land on which Leonardtown was located) was granted permission to cultivate the lots in Leonardtown pending their purchase. This evidently did not relieve the situation, for in 1740 Spalding petitioned the Assembly for authority to break the entail on his Leonardtown property (which he calls " Coopers Purchase "). He said the land was much the worse for having Seymourtown, later Leonardtown laid out on it, and it was then of so little value they could not do anything with it and wished to sell it. The Assembly concurred, the entail was broken, and presumably the land was sold.[27]

From the above it may be inferred that " Shepherd's Old Fields " passed through the hands of Thomas Cooper and his son-in-law, Thomas Spalding, losing acreage to Seymourtown, later Leonardtown. Be that as it may, the remaining acreage in 1744 was surveyed into " America Felix Secundus," granted in that year by resurvey to Abraham Barnes.[28]

Abraham Barnes, who thus acquired Tudor Hall, came to Maryland from Virginia. His business interests may have induced him to cross the Potomac, or it may have been the charms of Elizabeth Rousby of Calvert County who became his second wife. Barnes' first wife was Mary King, by whom he had a daughter, Mary King Barnes, who married Thomson Mason (then of Choppawomsic, Virginia, and later of Raspberry Plains, Loudoun County), brother of George Mason of Gunston Hall, author of the Virginia Bill of Rights. Barnes also had two sons, John and Richard.[29]

The move to Maryland must have occurred about 1740, for by 1744 Barnes patented " America Felix Secundus," the tract on which Tudor Hall stands. This resurvey of 1,096 acres included, as has been noted, part of " St. Lawrence . . . alias Barton Obert and Dominick " or " Shepherd's Old Fields " held by Philip Lynes at the time of his death in 1709.[30] Barnes owned other

[27] *Ibid.*, XXXVII, 25, 113, 166, *passim*, XLII, 167 *ff.*

[28] Rent Roll, Charles and St. Mary's Co., # 1 and 2, f. 27, Land Office, Annapolis. Note says " Resurveyed into America Felix Secundus."

[29] Kate Mason Rowland, " The Maryland Delegates to the Albany Congress " in *Dixie, A Monthly Magazine,* II (1899), 286-299.

[30] Patents PT # 2, f. 246, Land Office, Annapolis. The original of this patent, preserved by members of the Key family, now hangs in the Memorial Room at Tudor

large estates in St. Mary's County — 1,490 acres in 1753 — including "Westbury Manor" with its 1,250 acres.

Barnes' public service began in 1745 when he was a delegate from St. Mary's County to the Lower House of the Assembly. For a number of years he was one of a quartet from that county, the others being Zachariah Bond, James Mills, and Philip Key — a group strongly favorable to the party of Lord Baltimore.[31] The legislative activities of this group were interrupted when, in June, 1749, the Committee on Elections of the Assembly declared that the St. Mary's delegation had not been legally elected. The report of this committee was accepted, and the delegation was sent home. The Committee followed up this action with a report criticizing use of "uncommon entertainments and great quantities of strong and spirituous liquors" to influence the electorate. Contending the practice would "tend to the destruction of the health, strength, peace and quiet, and highly contribute to the corruption of the morals of his Majesty's subjects," the Committee ended by saying they left the remedy for the Assembly to find.[32] However, the same delegation reappeared in the Assembly the next year, were seated, and continued to represent the County for many years.

In 1746 Barnes was appointed to recruit men in St. Mary's County to serve in the King's army fighting against the French in America. About this time he began to be called major, and later had the title of colonel. In 1754 he and Benjamin Tasker were sent as the Maryland delegates to the Albany Congress.[33]

Barnes the public servant was also Barnes the business man. In 1747 his property was chosen as the site of one of the public warehouses for shipping tobacco.[34] Evidently Leonardtown was growing in importance.

The spiritual needs of the townspeople also enlisted the active interest of Barnes. In 1745 he was one of the Commissioners to re-divide St. Mary's County into four parishes.[35] Later (1753) Barnes became a member of the first Vestry of St. Andrew's Parish; he was active in parish affairs throughout his life.[36]

Hall Memorial Library. Also, Debt Books for St. Mary's Co. for 1753, f. 42, Land Office, Annapolis.

[31] *Archives of Maryland,* XLIV, XLVI, *passim.*

[32] *Ibid.,* XLVI, 263, 282, 336, 377.

[33] *Ibid.,* XLIV, 3, 400, and *passim*; XLVI, *passim*; J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland* (1879), I, 444.

[34] *Archives of Maryland,* XLIV, 608. See also *ibid.,* XLII, 452, XLVI, 123.

[35] *Ibid.,* XLIV, 208.

[36] Copy, St. Andrews Vestry Proceedings, *passim,* Maryland Historical Society.

In spite of all these honors and apparent affluence, Barnes must have concluded that new business enterprises must be set up if he was to insure the financial security of his sons. Consequently he and a nephew by marriage, John Morton Jordon of Virginia, went into the shipping business with three ships operating in the James, York, and Potomac Rivers respectively to transport goods from Maryland and Virginia to England. Realizing no doubt that the English merchants who received colonial tobacco were very advantageously situated because they could set the price of tobacco and charge whatever they wished for the goods they exported to America, Barnes decided in 1760 to go to England, taking his sons to establish them there on the receiving end of his shipping business.[37]

At this time he advertised his Leonardtown property for rent for seven years. His advertisements in the *Maryland Gazette* mention among other properties " the subscribers dwelling-house, very advantageously situated for purchasing tobacco, etc.; a good garden, store-house, ware-house, with many useful out-houses and liberty of pasturage." [38]

Perhaps there were no takers, but in any case Barnes' son-in-law, John Thomson Mason, spent at least part of his time while Barnes was in England at " America Felix Secundus " (or Tudor Hall as we know it today). Advertisements in the *Maryland Gazette* announced that John Thomson Mason offered for sale at Barnes' plantation the ships *Brent* and *Upton*, wine, slaves, and salt. During this time Mason had slaves judged for their ages by the Vestry of St. Andrew's and acted as judge for the Leonardtown races.[39]

While in England Richard Barnes had his portrait painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds.[40] Here Col. Barnes and his sons met Lord Baltimore's secretary, Cecilius Calvert, and made such a good impression on him that Calvert wrote Governor Sharpe in May, 1763: " Here is a Col. Barnes, says he has been of the Assembly; thinks of returning. I should be glad to know his behaviour & disposition to us, 'tis here said, he is of good Circumstances, rich.

[37] Rowland, *op. cit.*, 289-292; Rowland: " Barnes-Morton " in *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series 1, XVII (1908-1909),145.
[38] *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), July 17, 31, Aug. 14, 21, 1760.
[39] *Ibid.*, Feb. 19, Sept. 10, 24, Oct. 22, 1761.
[40] Rowland, *Dixie*, *op. cit.*, 294.

Y^r opinion Ab^t his being Rec^r Gen^l will be Acceptable. . . ." [41] Governor Sharpe did not seem too impressed as he pointed out to Secretary Calvert that there were far too few jobs and far too many applicants.

Barnes' business plans in England did not materialize. By 1767 he was back at Tudor Hall.[42] No doubt disillusioned and frustrated by the restrictive policies of the British toward the Colonies, Barnes ceased to be a supporter of the Crown and of Lord Baltimore and became a member of the group of Americans seeking by economic pressure to get a better deal from the Mother Country. By 1774 Abraham Barnes had become chairman of the St. Mary's County Committee of Observation, the local group engaged in discovering and punishing by extra legal means those citizens who bought goods from England or Englishmen.[43]

By 1776 this group had assumed the powers of government for the County and in this capacity worked frantically to defend the County against invasion by the British fleet which lay in the Potomac and Patuxent Rivers. In this crisis a company of militia under Captain [Peter?] Mantz was sent from Frederick County to help repel the expected invasion. But these " foreigners " from Frederick were not popular in St. Mary's County. It is amusing to find Barnes pointing out that the fleet had gone and that the Frederick County militia are not longer needed while Captain

[41] *Archives of Maryland,* XXXI, 545 (May 2, 1763). On Feb. 29, 1764, Secretary Calvert wrote further: ". . . [neither Barnes] nor I have sought one another, we have meet by accident. he informed me his design was England, if he could establish his sons here. he express'd himself with the utmost regard & in the most obliging manner concern^g you Public and private very respectfully, & said a better Gov^r than you could not be to the Province. He has since inform'd me that his project for his sons Emolument here will not do, therefore thinks of his return to Maryland, where he has a good Setlement, & where he has had success with risque of Ruin. he's very fond of his two sons, I am not surprised at, they are of personage very engaging & well accomplish'd, Maryland Born, & the father has been a Representative in the Lo:House as an unprejudiced man. In the discourse I have observed him a person of good sense & his Character is so & men seak of him of strict Honour in all his Dealings & Knowing in commerce & well versed in figures; he is sober & well-spoken, appears not of a hasty Temper & has by Assiduity gained a fair substantial fortune. I can't help expressing his appearance & characteristicks is of a Person I believe well deserving, is polite & so are his sons. these Marks of him are substantials proved, & characterising him a Man of Trust, confidence & real Credit intirely suitable of acceptance, Especially in an Office & Employ these requisites center & points out & gives to his Lord^p a fair opportunity & prospect of him in the station of his being his Agent & Rec^r Gen^l & I shall recommend him unless you Do point more suitable & contradictory of what is assented of him. . . ." *Archives of Maryland,* XIV, 132-133.

[42] Rowland, *op. cit.,* 293-294.

[43] *Archives of Maryland,* XII, 100; LXII, 458.

Mantz complains of inadequate provisions and of the unhealthy water and climate. He would like permission to return to a more agreeable and healthy place, but, if that cannot be had, he is "willing to comply with your orders and die in the Cause." [44]

In the troubled war-time days Abraham Barnes died, and his will shows him to be a sadly disappointed father. The will sets forth that in 1764 the testator set up his son John in trade and merchandise; to the father's great surprise he finds that John has carelessly lost all he had given him and is more in debt than in the father's power to pay. Above all, John has "robbed me of my happiness and peace of mind at a time of life when I expected to be free from any disturbance or anxiety." This unhappy state of affairs is due to John's obstinacy in rejecting his father's advice and since John's debts are equal to half Abraham's estate, John is not to get anything further, but all the testator's estate is to go to his other son, Richard Barnes.[45]

Thus, in 1778, Richard Barnes fell heir to the vast estates (including Tudor Hall) and hundreds of Negro slaves formerly the property of his father, Abraham Barnes. He also stepped into his father's shoes as leader of the Revolutionary Party in St. Mary's County. Richard had won the latter place by his own efforts and had been sent in July, 1775, as a delegate from St. Mary's County to the Maryland Convention.[46] This group formed the "Association of the Freemen of Maryland" — men pledged to "unite and associate as one band" to oppose British tyranny by arms if necessary and to maintain good order by supporting the Revolutionary Government set up for Maryland. The Convention sent delegates to the First Continental Congress and then returned to their homes, but left a group known as the Council of Safety functioning in Annapolis, to carry on the cause of resistance to England by working through certain key men in each county.

Richard Barnes served as county lieutenant and was thus the key man for St. Mary's County. The varied and indispensable duties of the county lieutenant included collecting all the gold and silver coin, helping to erect beacons on the Potomac, trying to procure military supplies, and finding men for military service.[47]

[44] *Ibid.*, 184, 185.
[45] St. Mary's Co. Wills, JJ # 1, f. 39, Hall of Records, Annapolis.
[46] *Archives of Maryland,* XI, 3, 67.
[47] *Ibid.*, XI, 132, 449; XII, 139; XVI, 24, 440; XLV, 24, 32, 538, 589.

Barnes had to perform near miracles without cash as the Council repeatedly announced that it had absolutely no funds. He served also as major, later colonel of the local militia.[48]

The British landed at several places in the County in 1781. " Six of the enemy ships have burnt Col. Barnes House on St. Mary's River and plundered him of all his property." Another account refers to British activities " after plundering Col. Richard Barnes of St. Mary's of all his property and burning all his houses."[49] It is believed that these statements did not refer to Tudor Hall.

Barnes was active as a public servant of his county and state until his death in 1804. Notably he was a member of the Maryland Convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States in 1788.[50] Three wills made by him were admitted to probate in St. Mary's County and in Washington County where he also had extensive land holdings and an estate " Montpelier " near Hagerstown.[51]

All of the wills gave freedom to Barnes' several hundred slaves. " I give all my poor slaves whose melancholy situation I have long deplored their freedom or liberty three years after my death." Those able to work were to be responsible for the support of the young, aged, and infirm. Each of these Negroes was to take the surname of Barnes " in remembrance of our past intercourse with each other." His property was not to be appraised; the household furniture in St. Mary's and Washington counties was to continue in each house for use of his executor when he might have occasion to be at either place.

Due to the peculiar circumstance of the three wills, the estate of Richard Barnes was left in an undetermined status. The necessity of untangling the confusion fell to Richard's executor, nephew and probable heir, John Thomson Mason, Jr. Mason was the son of Mary Barnes, sister of Richard, who had married John Thomson Mason of Virginia. Beside John Thomson, Jr., there were two other sons, Stevens Thomson Mason and Abraham Barnes Thomson Mason, and a daughter, Mrs. Ann Thomson Chichester.[52]

[48] *Ibid.,* XII, 43.
[49] *Ibid.,* XLV, 383.
[50] *Ibid.,* XXI, 265; XVI, 273. Scharf, *op. cit.,* II, 546.
[51] St. Mary's Co. Wills, JJ # 3, f. 43 *ff.*; Washington Co. Wills B, f. 50-57, Hall of Records Annapolis.
[52] *Ibid.*

All except John Thomson Mason, Jr., lived in Loudoun County, Virginia, with their father. He came to Maryland and probably spent a large part of his time with his bachelor uncle, Richard Barnes. He was a lawyer and practised at one time in Georgetown where he had a house at Prospect and Fayette Streets.[53] He was the first United States Attorney for the District of Columbia but served only a few months.[54] About 1802 (or earlier) he moved to Washington County, Maryland, where he lived at "Montpelier" with his uncle John Barnes who had recovered from his financial difficulties. This property had been patented to Richard Barnes, Mason's uncle, on Oct. 17, 1791, and offered to Mason and his family the hope of recovery from the ill health which had overtaken him.[55]

Thomson Mason had a son, Abram, born January 14, 1798 — the occasion, no doubt, for Richard Barnes' second will. The child died July 22, 1801, necessitating a third will from Richard.[56] When Thomson Mason died in 1824, he left a widow, Elizabeth, and seven living children.[57]

One of the first tasks of Thomson Mason in the administration of Richard Barnes' will was the matter of freeing the slaves. Barnes had neglected to take note of a law passed in 1796 providing that no Negro was to be set free after the age of 45 years. No provision was made by the will for the slaves born after the death of Barnes but before the three years had expired at the end of which time they were to be set free. Most difficult of all, Mason could think of no way by which the provision could be carried out which specified that the able-bodied were to take care of the aged and young. He proposed a detailed plan which was accepted by the Orphans Court of St. Mary's County whereby 101 slaves were to be set free and take the name of Barnes. Those under 22 years of age were to be freed subsequently when they reached that age, and meanwhile the aged were to continue in the ownership of Mason, as well as those awaiting freedom.[58]

[53] District of Columbia Deeds, T # 19, f. 36, Recorder of Deeds Office, Washington, D. C.

[54] F. R. Noel, "Some Notable Suits in Early District Courts" in *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, 24 (1922), 68, 73.

[55] Patent, 1 C No. G, f. 86, Land Office, Annapolis.

[56] Helen W. Ridgely, *Historic Graves of Maryland and the District of Columbia* (New York, 1908), p. 263.

[57] Washington Co. Accounts 11, f. 172, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[58] St. Mary's Co. Orphan's Court Proceedings, Dec. 9, 1807, Court House, Leonardtown.

An ancient book entitled "Certificates of Freedom" is on file in the Orphans Court at Leonardtown. It lists 101 slaves by name, each with the surname of Barnes, and three named Abraham Barnes. Identifying characteristics were give for each — age, height, color, etc. — and for each, some such description as that given for Judy Barnes, age 26: "Black, has a remarkable thick upper lip; has several small scars on her right arm; has a scar on the front part of her left arm; has a scar on the front part of her right ankle; and otherwise not very notable." [59]

Thus the matter of Richard Barnes' slaves was settled to the satisfaction of the County Orphans Court. But what of the ambiguous and contradictory features of the three wills as to the disposition of the real estate?

Apparently Thomson Mason, eminent lawyer that he is reputed to have been, assumed that he held title to Richard's lands in fee simple. In 1816 he deeded to the children of his deceased brother, Abraham B. T. Mason, part of the estate lying in St. George's Hundred known as "Westbury Manor"; [60] and to the children of his brother, also deceased, Stevens Thomson Mason, "all the lands in Upper and Lower Newtown Hundred of which Richard Barnes died seized." The latter conveyance, a total of 1,958½ acres, included 893 acres of "America Felix Secundus" ("including the dwelling house and plantation of Richard Barnes") and lots and houses in Leonardtown. Excepted from the land conveyed was the "graveyard in the garden attached to the late dwelling house of Richard Barnes in his lifetime and where the said Richard Barnes, his father and mother, and the infant daughter of John T. Mason lie buried." [61]

Shortly after Tudor Hall became by deed the property of the heirs of Stevens Thomson Mason, one of them, Armistead T. Mason deeded his share to Philip Key for $5000.[62] This deed, dated Sept. 18, 1817, was soon followed on Feb. 2, 1818, by the deed for the same property from Philip Key to his son, Henry Greenfield Sothoron Key.[63]

In this manner Tudor Hall passed into the hands of the Key

[59] St. Mary's Co. Certificates of Freedom, Jan. 18, 1808, Court House, Leonardtown.
[60] Abstracts of Deeds, St. Mary's Co., TH 28, f. 177, Land Office, Annapolis.
[61] St. Mary's Co. Deeds A # 1, f. 115; also abstracts of deeds TH 28, f. 195.
[62] St. Mary's Deeds A # 1, f. 115, Hall of Records, Annapolis.
[63] *Ibid.*

family to remain there for almost 150 years. Philip Key I, the progenitor of the family in Maryland, came to St. Mary's County about 1740, there to acquire estates and distinction, ending his life a member of His Lordship's Council. His various sons died soon after their father, among them Francis Key, grandfather of Francis Scott Key of "Star Spangled Banner" fame. Another son, Dr. John Key, left a boy, Philip, who remained in St. Mary's County to carry on the traditions of the family.[64]

No information is available as to where Philip spent his boyhood, since by his grandfather's will he was to be under the guardianship of his uncles rather than under the care of his mother and her second husband, Thomas Bond. It is said that he was sent to London in 1767 to study law and that he was presented at the Court of St. James's when he was 19 years old. Returning to America by 1770, he was allied with the patriot group although not very active. He served in the Maryland Assembly and from 1791 to 1793 was a member of the House of Representatives of the United States.[65] In 1808 he qualified as one of the Judges of the St. Mary's County Orphans Court.[66] He was twice married, first to Rebecca Jowles Sothoron (who was heiress of Zachariah Bond, owner of "Indian Town") and later to Sophia Hall of Harford County. He was the father of seventeen children, most of whom died young. Philip himself died in 1820.[67]

According to the recorded deeds, Philip's ownership of Tudor Hall was of brief duration. This is contrary to tradition which has it that Philip Key acquired Tudor Hall in 1796 when his family estate of "Bushwood Lodge" was destroyed by fire, and that it was he who remodeled the building into the form which it had until 1950. The deeds speak for themselves. The Tax Assessment Book for St. Mary's County in 1816 directs that "America Felix Secundus" (and other properties) be removed from Philip Key and assessed to Henry G. S. Key.[68] The probable explanation is that Philip Key lived in Tudor Hall as tenant for

[64] H. E. Hayden: *Virginia Genealogies* (Wilkes-Barre, 1891), p. 167. Christopher Johnson, "Key Family" in *Maryland Historical Magazine,* V (1910), 194-200.

[65] *Biographical Directory of the American Congress 1774-1949* (1950), p. 1409.

[66] St. Mary's Co. Orphans Court Proceedings, Oct., 1808, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[67] Hayden, *loc. cit.*

[68] St. Mary's Co. "Old Tax Book" (1816), f. 32, Court House, Leonardtown.

an undetermined period. Its owner after 1804, John Thomson Mason, lived in Washington County and while some of his nephews or nieces might have occupied it, there is no record or tradition to show that they did. Regardless of when Philip Key lived there, he moved out before he died as in his will he lists his home place as "Gravelly Hills." [69]

In the light of these uncertainties, who spent a fortune remodeling Tudor Hall? Although Philip Key had many children and would have needed more room than the bachelor Richard Barnes, would he have improved a property to which he apparently did not have a clear title? It seems more likely that it was Henry Greenfield Sothoron Key, son of Philip, who remodeled Tudor Hall either in preparation for his marriage to Henrietta Tayloe, or else with the help of funds brought into the family by the marriage. Born in 1790, he was 25 years old when he courted and won the fair Henrietta of Mt. Airy, Virginia. They had nine children. By a later marriage to Maria Harris of "Ellenborough," near Leonardtown, there were several other children, including Joseph Harris Key.[70]

No sooner had Henry received Tudor Hall by deed from his father than he set out to secure deeds from all the Mason heirs.[71] Successful in this, he nevertheless had a set-back in 1830, due to the fact that by an Act of Assembly passed in December, 1828, Abraham Mason (son of John Thomson Mason, heir of Richard Barnes) had his name changed to Abraham Barnes. He then claimed title to all of Richard Barnes' estate on the theory that his father, John Thomson Mason, had only a life interest, and that by his change of name he had complied with the conditions of the will of Richard Barnes. However, the newly renamed Abraham Barnes then gave Henry Key a deed to secure his title held from the older Mason, but Key had to give a bond for $12,000 to secure payment of $7,000.[72] In spite of all this the investment probably paid off as Henry sold off a great many lots on which the town of Leonardtown is largely built.[73] Henry died possessed of a

[69] St. Mary's Co. Wills, JF # 1, f. 19 (1829) Court House, Leonardtown.

[70] Hayden, *loc cit.* See also letters from H. G. S. Key to Miss Henrietta H. Tayloe, Apr. 17, 1815, Aug. 25, 1815, in Henry G. S. Key Papers, Maryland Historical Society.

[71] St. Mary's Deeds, A # 1, 115 *ff.*, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[72] St. Mary's Co. Land Records, JH # 8, f. 470-474, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[73] Index to Extracts of Deeds, St. Mary's Co., 1796-1873, *passim,* Hall of Records, Annapolis.

considerable estate in land, including, beside Tudor Hall, " Indian Town," " Hamburg " and " Jutland."

Henry was proud to call himself a farmer, but he had other interests. In 1817 he became a judge of the St. Mary's County Orphan's Court — a position practically hereditary in the Key family, it would seem.[74] His most important office was as member and subsequently chairman of the boundary commission for ascertaining the northeast boundary between Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania.[75]

From Henry's will it is obvious that Tudor Hall was maintained by him in traditional fashion. In it he refers to his carriages and silver plate, his bookcase and library of books, periodicals, pamphlets, etc., and to various portraits including one of his father Philip Key, and portraits of himself and his first wife painted by John Beale Bordley. We have already noted the inventory of his estate from which we have gotten a glimpse of Tudor Hall as it was then. This member of the Key family had great respect for his ancestors as evidenced by the publication by him of his great-grandfather's will and the direction in his own will that he is to be buried " in my ancestral vault at Chaptico where rest the ashes of most of my family some to the fifth generation."

By this will, probated in 1872, he leaves his " Leonardtown Estate " or " Tudor Hall House " to the surviving children of his first wife — William Ogle Key of Alabama and Dr. Robert Morris Key of Texas — and to his granddaughter, Etta Smith, daughter of Dr. James Smith of Virginia and his deceased daughter, Nannie Ogle Smith. He expects his wife to leave " Indian Town " and " Hamburg " estates to her son and his, Joseph Harris Key.[76] Nevertheless it was the latter who bought out the heirs and acquired Tudor Hall where he resided until his death in 1917. Following in the steps of his ancestors, he was a lawyer, judge of the Orphans Court, member of the Maryland Legislature, and country squire. He was married three times — to Fanny Baltzell, Cora Beale, and Mattie Maddox — and had six children.[77]

Three of these children, Dr. Sothoron Key of Washington,

[74] St. Mary's Co. Orphan's Court Proceedings, 1807-1826, f. 130, Hall of Records, Annapolis.
[75] Original Commission, Key Papers, Maryland Historical Society.
[76] St. Mary's Co. Wills, JTMR # 1, f. 319-326, Hall of Records, Annapolis.
[77] Information supplied by his son, Dr. Sothoron Key.

John Key, and Cora Key, inherited Tudor Hall from their father, Joseph Harris Key. None of them occupied it, however, so that following the death of Mrs. Mattie Key the house was sometimes rented, sometimes vacant. Finally in 1947 the Key heirs sold Tudor Hall to a real estate firm which intended to subdivide it into building sites; this plan threatened the survival of the house.

It was saved from demolition by Mrs. Mary Patterson Davidson, a newcomer to St. Mary's County who had moved there in 1931 when she and her husband, General Howard C. Davidson, U. S. A., purchased " Cremona," an old estate on the Patuxent River. Mrs. Davidson saw in the purchase of Tudor Hall an opportunity to save a fine old building and at the same time to assist the people of St. Mary's County in their ambition to have a public library. Later the idea took shape to make this project a memorial to the men from St. Mary's County who lost their lives in the two World Wars.

Thus it came about that Mrs. Davidson had Tudor Hall beautifully restored and remodeled to fulfill its function as a library, and then presented it to the St. Mary's County Memorial Library Association which will maintain it. What a wonderful solution for the preservation of an ancient land-mark, a solution that might well be copied elsewhere!

Thus the sturdy old mansion which in one form or another has looked out of one eye over Breton Bay and out of the other eye at Leonardtown Court House for three hundred years, is taking another deep breath and starting out on what it is hoped and expected may be another three hundred years of leadership and service in the community where it has long been an object of pride.

MORE ABOUT THE NICHOLITES

By Kenneth L. Carroll

JOSEPH NICHOLS, the founder of the little band of " Friends " (which later came to be called Nicholites or " New Quakers "), did not live long enough to complete the organization of his Church. Many of the people who had flocked to hear him, after he felt called upon to appear among them as a minister, had been convinced by the fervency of his zeal; these persons very early embraced his views and conformed their lives to the principles he set forth. Nichols had sown his seed well, so that it grew and flourished.[1]

The Nicholites held their first Monthly Meeting in 1774—six years earlier than the date of organization proposed by Gummere.[2] On the 5th day of the 12th Month, 1774, a " meeting of friends " assembled to " Consider of Some Things Relating to the General Benefit of the Church of Christ." They agreed to hold their Monthly Meeting at the home of James Harris (here spelled Harriss) on the first and second day of the first week in every month. The first day was for the worship of God; on the second day they were " to Consider of Such Business as may Concern us, as Touching our Religious Society." [3]

This same assembly, in addition to setting up some form of organization for discipline, also concluded that " friends Should Carefully Collect their Marriage Certificates and bring them to the Said Meeting in order to have them Entered upon Record."

[1] See my article " Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites of Caroline County, Maryland," *Maryland Historcal Magazine*, XLV (March, 1950), 47-61, for an earlier discussion of this group and its founder. This article also contains a copy of the Nicholite birth records.

[2] See Amelia Mott Gummere, *The Journal and Essays of John Woolman* (Philadelphia, 1922), p. 554.

[3] This decision of the Nicholites to organize regularly is recorded in the front of the volume containing copies of their marriage certificates. This volume is now with the records of Third Haven Monthly Meeting of Friends (Easton)—placed in the vault of the Talbot County Register of Wills for safe keeping.

The earliest marriage certificate recorded is dated the 21st of the 9th Month, 1766, and the latest took place on the 10th of the 12th Month, 1800.

The marriage ceremony of the Nicholites, like their meeting for worship, was apparently greatly influenced by the neighboring Friends or Quakers. The lack of contemporary records renders it impossible to measure the influence of the Quakers upon the conversion of Joseph Nichols, the "first preacher of this society and the chief instrument in founding it," and also upon the lines of organizational development followed by the Nicholites or "New Quakers" as they were sometimes called. Nevertheless, the form of silent worship, the testimony against war, oaths, and a stipendiary ministry, the pattern of the wedding ceremony, the monthly meetings for business, the name of *Friends* which they gave themselves, and the title "New Quakers" sometimes applied to them, all show that their debt to the Society of Friends must have been great. In addition, their custom of calling the days and months by numbers rather than by names was strictly of Quaker origin and practice.

The earliest certificate recorded, which reads as follows, is of twofold interest—first, it is typical of those which followed and secondly, it shows the likenesses to its Quaker counterpart:

These are to Certify all persons whom it may concern that Isaac Charles and Nancy Payne Both Single of Dorchester County [4] in maryland having first publickly made known their Intention of marriage and No Lawfull objection being made They the said Isaac Charles & Nancy Payne Did on the Twenty first day of the Ninth month one Thousand Seven Hundred Sixty Six in the presence of a publick congregation of people at the House of Solomon Charles in Dorchester County afforesaid publickly acknowledge their marriage Engagement Each to the other the man Taking the woman To be his Lawfull weded wife the woman taking the man to Be her Lawfull weded Husband In consequence of which the woman Hereafter assumes the Sir Name of the man in Testimony whereof we the Subscribers Being present have Hereunto Subscribed our Names.

In addition to being the earliest record marriage, this one also has the distinction of being the only witnessed by Joseph Nichols (here spelled Nicolls).

Until 1778 marriages appear to have been consummated in a

[4] It should be remembered that Caroline County, which was formed from parts of Dorchester and Queen Anne's, was not set up until 1773.

" public congregation of people " at the house of some Friend. From this period on they were mostly held at " Friends meeting-house in Caroline County." It is not until 1784 and 1785 that one finds mention by name of the three meeting-houses at Centre, Northwest Fork, and Tuckahoe Neck.[5]

The Nicholites bore a firm and unwavering testimony against a " hireling " ministry (William Dawson, one of the " pillars " of the group, was imprisoned for a time in Cambridge for this very reason). Thus, forbidden by their principles to acknowledge a man-made ministry, they could not " consistently consummate their marriages before a priest although required so to do " by the laws of Maryland.[6]

In addition to their uncompromising stand against a stipendiary ministry, the Nicholites also bore a steadfast testimony against profane and even judicial swearing. Thus the Nicholites petitioned the General Assembly of Maryland for permission to marry among themselves and for relief from the taking of oaths. In 1783, therefore, the following act " for the relief of the christian society of people called Nicholites, or New Quakers " was enacted:

WHEREAS the society of people called Nicolites, or New Quakers have, by their humble petition to this general assembly, set forth, that they labour under many great and grievous inconveniencies, owing to their conscientious scruples relative to the taking oaths in the usual form, and not being admitted to declare the truth of their knowledge by solemn affirmation: And whereas it is declared in the thirty-sixth section of the declaration of rights, that the manner of administering an oath to any person ought to be such as those of the religious persuasion, profession or denomination, of which such person is one, generally esteem the most effectual confirmation by the attestation of the Divine Being: Therefore,

Be it enacted, *by the general assembly of Maryland,* That the society of people called Nicholites, or New Quakers, shall be and they are hereby entitled to, and shall have and enjoy, all the rights, privileges, immunities and franchises, that the people called Quakers are in any manner entitled to enjoy, under the declaration of rights, form of government, or any law or laws in force within this state, any law, custom or usage, to the contrary nothwithstanding.[7]

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[5] Ezra Michener, *A Retrospect of Early Quakerism; Being Extracts from the Records of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and the Meetings Composing It, to which is Prefixed an Account of their First Establishment* (Philadelphia, 1860), p. 419.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 415.

[7] *Laws of Maryland Made Since M, DCC, LXIII, Consisting of Acts of Assembly Under the Proprietary Government* (Annapolis, 1787), Laws of 1783, Chapter 18.

Negroes, apparently without any discrimination, attended the meetings of the Nicholites. Tradition, on which Michener admits drawing heavily, furnishes the story of Joseph Nichols' taking off his coat and giving it to a poor slave who came to the meeting without one —thus literally fulfilling the biblical injunction, " He that hath two coats, let him impart to him that thath none." [8] Even more significant is the fact that Negroes were admitted to full membership in the society. Among the wedding certificates there is one which records the marriage of Isaac Linager and Rosannah. This Rosannah was " formerly held as a slave by Daniel Addams of Dorchester County in Maryland Dec[d] which the S[d] Addams Did in his Life Time Discharge the said Rosannah from her Slavery and bondage." [9] The names of their children are contained in the Nicholite birth records.

At their three meeting-houses—Centre, Northwest Fork, and Tuckahoe Neck—the Nicholites regularly met on first-days and in the middle of the week. Here it was

> their practice to sit down and wait in silence for the Divine principle to strengthen and direct their spirits,—without which they did not believe that any religious service could be performed, which would be acceptable to Him whom they professed to worship.[10]

The Nicholites, much after the manner of Friends, held meetings for discipline once a month. Michener feels that one Monthly Meeting was held up to 1784, when the two meeting-houses were built at Centre and Tuckahoe Neck, at which time Monthly Meetings were established in all three meetings.[11] It is possible that one Monthly Meeting existed for the whole group of Nicholites on the Eastern Shore—although it may have been held at the different meeting-houses according to some system of rotation. (This system of rotation was long followed by the neighboring Quakers in both the Cecil and Third Haven Monthly Meetings). If such were the case, all reference to other Monthly Meetings may refer to the Nicholites who migrated to North Carolina. The existing material is not sufficiently clear to determine this.

[8] Michener, *op. cit.*, p. 416.

[9] See marriage certificate number 6. The marriage and birth records of the Nicholites are now with the records of Third Haven Monthly Meeting of Friends. No trace of the burial records has been found.

[10] Michener, *op. cit.*, p. 416.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 419.

The Monthly Meetings of the Nicholites at this period usually lasted three days. First, on the morning of seventh-day, there was held a select meeting of ministers and elders. This was followed by a public meeting; and then, after that, the Nicholites conducted their business in a select meeting, with men and women sitting together. This was a departure from the custom of their Quaker neighbors who, at this time, had separate meetings for men and women. On first-day and second-day public meetings were held. It is reported that there were often " near one thousand people " in attendance at these meetings.[12]

Some time after their organization the Nicholites felt a need for some definite rules of discipline. The only copy located thus far, although it is quite possible that there may have been earlier lists, is found in the front of the book containing the marriage records. On the 1st of th 1st Month, 1793, " the following was Considered and Adopted for Rules Amongst us of the society of People called Nicholites or New Quakers: "

1. That all Marriage Certificates be Recorded—Births and deaths also.
2. Any member Joining in Marriage with one that is Not a member of our society do thereby forfeit their Right Amongst Friends or Allowing Such Marriage in their House do also Forfeit their Right amongst Friends.
3. Any Member Attending Such Marriage, shall be Called on to give a Reason for their Conduct in that Respect.
4. Any Member Intending to Marry Shall first Inform the Elders of the Meeting to which they Belong—an if No Objection then the same to be minuted that a necessary Enquiry may be made of the Clearness of the Parties from others—and Consent of Parents or any Other Necessary Enquiry may be made—and if Nothing to the Contrary Appear by the Next Monthly Meeting— the Parties to be Left to their Liberty to twice Publish their Intention—and if no Objection Come foreward they may Consumate their Marriage According to the good order practiced Amongst Friends.
5. Two or three friends of good Repute to be chosen as Overseers of each Monthly Meeting—and to Render an Account of their Service and Duties to the Said Meeting Whensoever Called thereto.
6. Those who Neglect to Attend Meeting for Worship and Discipline at the Hour Appointed—or fall Asleep—or frequently go in and out or Otherwise disturb the Meeting—Let them be Cautioned privately and then if Need be Reprove them publickly, and if they

[12] *Loc. cit.*

Cannot be Reclaimed by Christian Endeavours of their friends to be Disowned.

7. Any friend Moving from the Limits of our Meeting to Another they Shall procure a Certificate from the Meeting to Which they Belonged that they may be Received as they are.
8. When any friend of the Ministry purposes to Travel in That service—they Should First Acquaint the Monthly Meeting Where they Belong—in order for their Brotherly Advice from the Meeting.
9. The Members of the Meeting only Have a right to set in Meeting of Business—Except on Application and on Admittance by the Said Meeting.
10. Any friend having anything to Offer in Meetings of Business should stand up—the better to Preserve that good order of Speaking one at a time.
11. Any Person Holding a Slave is not to be Admitted to be a member.
12. No Member go to Law with a Member—Except Some urgent Necessity—Nor with others until first Endeavouring by Easy terms—Offering to have the same settled by others.

The scarcity of references to the Nicholites in the records of the Third Haven Monthly Meeting of Friends prior to 1797 is surprising.[13] On the 25th of the 3rd Month, 1784, John Regester expressed a concern to pay a "religious visit" to the Nicholites and received a copy of a minute to this effect from the Monthly Meeting.[14] It was evidently some time later that he made this trip, for the minute was not returned to the Monthly Meeting until the 29th of the 12th Month, 1785. On the 29th of the 10th Month, 1789, Mary Berry informed the Monthly Meeting of a prospect of "Some Religious service" to the Nicholites.[15] Rebeccah Bartlett, John Dickinson, and Solomon Charles expressed a "freedom" to accompany her. Their visit took place very soon after this, and Mary Berry and John Dickinson returned their copies of the minute to the next Monthly Meeting.

[13] At this time Third Haven Monthly Meeting was composed of the following preparative meetings: Bayside, Choptank, Tuckado, Third Haven, Marshy Creek, and Queen Anne's (which became the Greensborough Meeting in 1795).

[14] Minutes of Third Haven Monthly Meeting for Business, III, 189.

[15] *Ibid.*, III, 264. This Mary Berry (1731-1806), an esteemed minister of the Society of Friends, travelled widely in "Religious service." In the 11th Month, 1792, she visited the North Carolina Yearly Meeting, after having visited the Virginia Yearly Meeting some short time before. In 1793 she, accompanied by Tristram Needles and Martha Yarnell, visited some of the Friends' Meetings on the Western Shore of Maryland and Virginia, most of the Meetings in North Carolina, and all the Meetings in South Carolina and Georgia. In 1795 she expressed a concern to go to the West Indies but, because of war conditions, was unable to make the journey.

Even before there began a recognized move on the part of the Nicholites to merge with the Society of Friends, some of the Nicholites, finding their discipline to be too straight, had gone over to the Quakers. Solomon Charles was accepted into membership on the 28th of the 11th Month, 1776.[16] His five children and his step-daughter were received as members on the 25th of the 3rd Month, 1779.[17] Levin Wright and his wife came "under the notice of friends in order to become members of our religious Society" on the 26th of the 5th Month, 1791, and were received as members on the 30th of the 6th Month, 1791.[18] In addition to these there were probably others who applied to Third Haven Monthly Meeting, through the representatives of Marshy Creek Meeting, for membership in the Religious Society of Friends.

At the Monthly Meeting held the 12th of the 10th Month, 1797, the representatives from Marshy Creek reported that "two of the people called Nicollites" attended their Meeting and presented them with a paper stating, "To the Members of Thirdhaven Monthly Meeting to be held the 25th day of the 10th M°, 1797. We the People called Nichollites herein present to your view and serious consideration the names of those that incline to unite with you in Membership."[19] This petition, signed by 106 adult members of the Nicholites, was "given forth from Center Monthly Meeting of the people called Nicollites held on the 30th day of the 9th Month, 1797," and signed by Seth Hill Evitts, Clerk.[20]

[16] *Ibid.*, III, 74.
[17] *Ibid.*, III, 105.
[18] *Ibid.*, III, 287.
[19] *Ibid.*, III, 368.
[20] The above application, which is recorded in the official minutes of Third Haven, was felt by Michener not to convey the wishes of the Nicholites too clearly. He, therefore, records the following, dated one month earlier, which he found on a loose sheet in one of the books: "Whereas, a part and perhaps the greater part, of the people in session, called Nicholites, have had a concern, at sundry times, to be united with the people called Quakers, believing it might be a benefit to us, and, we trust, no hurt to them, and perhaps more generally useful to others; and under this apprehension and prospect of good being done, we have believed it to be our duty to inform you of the desire we have to be one with you, truly united to the Head of the True Church, and one to another; so have proceeded to enrol the name of those who desire the unity proposed should be brought about. The next larger number is those that see not their way into the matter, but are not inclined to oppose it. We have also sent forward the names of those that have a birthright only who unite with the matter. Given forth from Centre Monthly Meeting, held the 5th of the eight month, 1797, and signed on behalf of the same, by Seth Hill Evitts, Clerk." Michener then describes the three lists mentioned above: "First, one of eighty names, 'all of which is agreed to the aforesaid proposal.' Next, one

Third Haven Monthly Meeting appointed a committee " to take Oportunity with them in a Collective capacity and treat the matter with them as way may open as to the grounds of their request and report of their situation and state of unaty in regard thereof to our next Monthly Meeting." [21] The committee on the application of the Nicholites reported on the 16th of the 11th Month, 1797, that,

> Many of them expresing in a tender manner their desire of becoming united with friends in a Society connection as Truth may open the way thereto, which Appears to be their prevailing Sentament, although some few have not given in to the proposal. We may further observe that most of them are Situated so remote from any of our meetings as renders the frequent attendance of them impractical, that they have three meeting houses where they meet together for religious Worship in the manner that friends do, in respect to their keeping up those meetings we did not see ocation to throw any discouragment before them. But are of the opinion it may be proper to represent the cause to the Quarterly meeting for their advice and assistance.[22]

The Monthly Meeting, on the 14th of the 12th Month, 1797, reported that the Quarterly Meeting felt it advisable to visit the Nicholites individually or by families " in order to feel after their growth & standing in the Truth." [23] A committee was appointed to carry out this task. On the 11th of the 1st Month, 1798, the committee felt " free " that 69 of the Nicholites might be received into membership. At this same time a small number of additional Nicholites also applied for membership. Within the next year and a half four other groups of Nicholites, ranging in size from three to thirteen, requested to be received into the Society of Friends.[24] During the next seven months an additional forty-nine were accepted. From this time onward, the records frequently note that various ones of the people who had come in from the Nicholites asked to have their children taken into the Society of Friends as members.

of twenty names, marked 'neuter'; and one of twelve names, marked 'nominal.' The first list is headed by James Harris." See Michner, *op. cit.*, p. 423.

[21] Third Haven Minutes, III, 368.

[22] *Ibid.*, IV, 1-2.

[23] *Ibid.*, IV, 3. In 1790 the Quakers on the Eastern Shore, belonging to the Cecil and Third Haven Monthly Meetings, were removed from under the Maryland Yearly Meeting and were united with Duck Creek and Motherkill Monthly Meetings in Delaware to form the Southern Quarterly Meeting under the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

[24] *Ibid.*, IV, 7, 8, 29, 37.

After this time there was evidently no mass move on the part of the remainder of the Nicholites to enter the Society of Friends in a body. In all probability those who wished to unite with the Quakers did it as individuals or in family units. Seth Hill Evitts, the clerk of Centre Monthly Meeting of Nicholites, who had drawn up the original petition in 1797, was not accepted into membership by Northwest Fork Monthly Meeting until the 11th of the 11th Month, 1801.[25] Beachamp Stanton and Elijah Cromean both applied for membership on the 14th of the 11th Month, 1804, and were received as members in 1805.[26] Elizabeth Twiford, later a minister among Friends, and her husband, Jonathan Twiford, did not join the Society of Friends until the 10th of the 2nd Month, Month, 1819.[27] This was 13 years after the visit of Elisha Dawson (a former Nicholite and now a well-known minister who travelled widely in his religious work). Accompained by Hatfield Wright, William Gray, Edward Barton, and Dennis Kelley, all of whom had been Nicholites, he visited " divers of the remaining part of the society called Nicolites " early in 1806.[28]

How long the few remaining Nicholites continued to hold separate meetings for discipline is not certain. They continued to hold Monthly Meetings as late as the 31st of the 12th Month, 1803, when it was recorded by Elijah Cromean (Cromeen), Clerk, that the transaction of making over Center Meeting house to the Quakers had been completed (Northwest Fork Meeting house had

[25] Minutes of Northwest Fork Monthly Meeting for Business, I, 24. These records are now kept in Easton with those of Third Haven Monthly Meeting. In the minutes of Third Haven Monthly Meeting (IV, 11-12), on the 17th of the 5th Month, 1798, there is found " From Marshee Creek they inform us that the friends belonging to Center & Northwest Fork Meetings (Two Meetings of the people called Nicolites, *the members of whom being now nearly all united with friends*), request that Meetings for Worship may be established at each of those places and also preparative Meetings established." Four months later it is reported that the Quarterly Meeting concurred. A short time later it was felt that a separate Monthly Meeting for those Quakers in Caroline should be set up because of the distances they had to travel; and, therefore, on the 16th of the 7th Month, 1800, Northwest Fork Monthly Meeting came into being—composed of Northwest Fork, Center and Marshy Creek Meetings.

[26] *Ibid.*, I, 75, 82.

[27] *Ibid.*, I, 243. In addition to religious service within Northwest Fork Monthly Meeting, Elizabeth Twiford travelled among the meetings of the Baltimore, Ohio, and Indiana Yearly Meetings.

[28] *Ibid.*, I, 93, 96. Elisha Dawson made extensive journeys among Friends. Minutes in the records of Northwest Fork Monthly Meeting and of the Southern Quarterly Meeting report travels to Ohio and Indiana, to New England, and even one trip to Europe.

been transferred on the 17th of the 8th Month, 1799).[29] Some few of the Nicholites continued worshipping with the Quakers until their death and never officially joined them. One elderly Quaker who died some years ago remembered that in his childhood, in the early 1860's, the last of the Nicholites worshipped with them in the old Neck Meeting House near Denton.

There was a migration of some of the Nicholites to North Carolina, but the time of their arrival there is uncertain. In all probability this occurred some time after the Revolution. They had a meeting-house at Deep River (in Guilford County) in 1789, when they were visited by Job Scott. Two other travelling Quakers who visited them were John Wigham in 1795 and Joshua Evans in 1797. In 1800 Stephen Grellet met some of them, but from that time on they disappear from the history of North Carolina. It is probable that the North Carolina branch followed the example of those in Maryland and joined themselves to Friends.[30] This view is to some degree strengthened by the case of Isaac Linagar (Linnegar), " a mixed coloured man," who requested membership in the Society of Friends at the June, 1798, session of the Deep River Monthly Meeting. This case was referred up through the New Garden Quarterly Meeting to the North Carolina Yearly Meeting which ruled that the *Discipline* was clear on this point. Thus, on the 1st of the 6th Month, 1801, Isaac Linagar was received into membership by the Deep River Monthly Meeting

[29] The making over of these two meeting-houses is recorded in the volume containing the birth records of the Nicholites. The new three volume work *The Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia,* edited by Charles B. Clark (New York, 1950) demonstrates here a critical weakness that is evident at many other points—dependence upon secondary works rather than upon primary sources. William N. Rairigh, in his chapter " A Narrative History of Caroline Country," writes, " When about 1817, the Nicholites merged with Third Haven Meeting they transferred their three meeting houses . . . to the monthly meeting " (II, 1102). This is merely a repetition of an earlier mistake found in Edward M. Noble (ed.), *History of Caroline County, Maryland: From Its Beginning* (Federalsburg, 1920), pp. 109, 114. Rairigh likewise repeats Noble's mistake in having the Nicholites locate in Caroline County in 1797—some twenty-three years after they organized and at the very time they were applying for membership in the Society of Friends!

[30] Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery: A Study in Institutional History*, Johns Hopkins University Studies, Extra Vol. XV (Baltimore, 1896), 110. Weeks quotes Evans' *Journal*, " I had two favored meetings among a people called Nicholites. . . . They appear to be plain, sober people, are reputed honest in their dealings and otherwise maintain a good character. . . . I observed that they had nine queries, which in substance were much like ours; these they read at times in their meetings. The last one was this: ' Are Friends careful to bear a steady testimony against slavery and oppression in all its different branches, endeavoring in everything to do others as we in like case would have others to to us? ' "

of Friends.[31] Undoubtedly, this Isaac Linagar was one of the Nicholites who migrated from Maryland to North Carolina.

NICHOLITE MARRIAGE RECORDS

Thomas Willis and Siny Rickets, both of Dorchester, 7/10/1767.
Moses Leverton and Nancy Addams, both of Dorchester, 5/29/1768.
Daniel Sullavane and Marget Melvin, both of Dorchester, 1/28/1770.
Elijah Russel and Esther Cranor, both of Caroline, 1/26/1775.
Isaac Charles and Nancy Payne, both of Dorchester, 9/21/1766.
Isaac Linager and Rosannah, of Dorchester, 4/16/1769.
Ezekiel Goslin and Peggy Bartlett, both of Dorchester, 11/23/1766.
Noble Covey, of Caroline, and Mary Bickham, of Kent (Delaware), 4/3/1775.
Edward Beck and Arimanti Wilson, both of Kent (Maryland), 7/1/1770.
Levin Wright and Mary Rumbly, both of Dorchester, 7/11/1773.
Solomon Charles and Sarah Addams, both of Dorchester, 5/23/1773.
William Charles and Leah Bartlet, both of Dorchester, 5/13/1770.
Solomon Bartlet, of Caroline, and Mary Victor, of Dorchester, 12/10/1775.
John Bachelor, of Talbot, and Eleanor Addams, of Dorchester, 4/5/1769.
Thomas Stanton and Mary Carter, both of Caroline, 12/2/1776.
John Dawson and Anne Harriss, both of Caroline, 1/5/1778.
James Wright and Sarah Harriss, both of Caroline, 7/6/1778.
Isaac Charles, of Dorchester, and Sophia Rauly, of Caroline, 1/2/1779.
Richard Jenkins and Ann Kelly, both of Caroline, 1/2/1779.
James Wright and Sarah Wright, both of Caroline, 3/4/1780.
John Swigett and Mary Breeding, both of Caroline, 3/19/1780.
William Framtom, of Caroline, and Marget Goslin, of Dorchester, 11/3/1781.
James Barton and Mary Ann Jenkins, both of Caroline, 4/6/1782.
Dennis Kelley and Sarah Jenkins, both of Caroline, 4/5/1783.
William Williams and Delilah Berry, both of Caroline, 3/31/1784.
John Wright and Esther Harriss, both of Caroline, 11/6/1784.
James Harriss, son of William, and Celia Wright, both of Caroline, 11/20/1784.
Moses Leverton and Rachel Wright, both of Caroline, 1/15/1785.
Elisha Dawson and Lydia Harriss, both of Caroline, 11/5/1785.
Daniel Wright and Sarah Harriss, both of Caroline, 12/3/1785.
William Poits, of Sussex (Delaware), and Adah Berry, of Caroline, 2/4/1786.
Williss Charles, of Dorchester, and Sarah Wright, of Caroline, 1/14/1786.
Edward Barton and Ann Harriss, both of Caroline, 12/2/1786.
James Wright, son of Levin, and Ann Ward, both of Caroline, 2/3/1787.

[31] See Henry J. Cadbury, "Negro Membership in the Society of Friends," *Journal of Negro History*, XXX (April, 1936), 177. I am very grateful to Dr. Cadbury for calling this information to my attention.

Beachamp Stanton and Chloe Chilcutt, both of Caroline, 11/3/1787.
William Bachelor and Elizabeth Jones, both of Caroline, 8/16/1788.
Solomon Wilson, Sr., and Rachel Saffard, both of Caroline, 11/13/1788.
Hubert Framptom and Mary Vickars, both of Dorchester, 10/18/1788.
Jacob Wright and Rhoda Harriss, both of Caroline, 12/5/1789.
Thomas Cane, Sr., of Kent (Delaware), and Frances Smith, of Caroline, 6/12/1790.
Thomas Grey, of Dorchester, and Sarah Marine, of Caroline, 1/14/1786.
Hatfield Wright, of Caroline, and Euphama Charles, of Dorchester, 10/16/1790.
Jonathan Twiford, of Sussex (Delaware), and Elizabeth Murphey, of Dorchester, 12/2/1790.
William Anderson, of Kent (Delaware), and Ann Causey, of Caroline, 8/31/1791.
Richard Vickars, of Dorchester, and Celia Chilcutt, of Caroline, 9/8/1791.
Beachamp Stanton, of Caroline, and Deborah Murhpa, of Dorchester, 10/6/1791.
William Williss and Henney Chance, both of Caroline, 8/9/1792.
Owin Sullivane and Ester Stanton, both of Caroline, 12/26/1792.
Henry Charles and Mary Wright, both of Caroline, 1/17/1793.
James Wilson, of Caroline, and Sarah Charles, of Dorchester, 11/28/1793.
John Harvey and Catherine Framptom, both of Caroline, 11/5/1794.
John Pool and Aney Wallis, both of Dorchester, 10/30/1768.
Edward Hubbert and Ann Wright, both of Caroline, 12/6/1793.
Dennis Kelley and Hannah Wilson, both of Caroline, 12/18/1794.
John Pritchett and Sarah Jenkins, both of Caroline, 12/2/1797.
Levin Pool and Elizabeth Emmerson, of Caroline, 1/18/1797.
Hatfield Wright and Lucrecia Lowe, both of Caroline, 10/13/1796.
Joshua Noble and Sarah Twiford, both of Sussex (Delaware), date omitted.
John Moriston and Catharine Harvy, both of Caroline, 9/15/1798.
Owen Sulavane and Elizabeth Fidamon, both of Caroline, 12/10/1800.

A FAMOUS MARYLAND PRIZE FIGHT[1]

By Paul Magriel

IN ancient Greece boxing had been a classic sport. With a developing brultality, boxing had declined in popularity. After slumbering for centuries, it found a sort of revival in England. By the middle of the 19th century it was again in a decline—so much so that the Duke of Wellington publicly lamented the trend. The Duke's lament was at about the time when Tom Hyer whipped Yankee (James) Sullivan in an arranged fight near Baltimore.[2]

The fight took place in February, 1849. The time marked what doubtless was the lowest estate of prize-fighting in the United States. The lure of contest between boxing gladiators was immense then, as before and since; but popular opinion looked unfavorably on arranged matches. The law supported this opinion. To arrange a fight dictated a furtive approach, for the sheriff or even the governor, in any State, would seek to thwart the arrangements.

Withal, prize-fighting went on. Gangdom ruled the sport, if it then deserved being characterized as a sport. Indeed, Yankee Sullivan himself belonged to the then nortorious Five Points Gang. Its members took their name from the headquarters of their operations, a neighborhood contiguous to New York's Chinatown. Yankee Sullivan had good credentials for connection with the Five Points gang. He had been deported from his native Ireland to a penal colony in Australia after being convicted of murder. He escaped, got to New York, and found a haven with the Five Points gang.

Tom Hyer had no such crime record. He was merely the victim

[1] This article is based principally on a volume, published anonymously, entitled, *Life and Battles of Yankee Sullivan* (Philadelphia, 1854). Except as otherwise indicated, quotations are from this volume.

[2] The Baltimore *Sun* took notice of the proposed fight in an editorial in the February 5, 1849, issue. While carefully refraining from any seeming approbation of the affair, the *Sun* carried at least one lengthy news story or an editorial in each issue published through February 10.

of his milieu. He grew in the then low circles of the prize ring atmosphere. His father, Jacob Hyer, had been a fight champion in 1816.

If a researcher a century ago had been making an inquiry into conditions attending prizefights, and had asked who participates, the answer, generally speaking, would have been: Bums. Where do they deal? The answer would have been: The barroom. Who acts for them? The answer would have been: Hangers-on. There were no promoters in the modern sense of that word. Such money as was to be made came from wagers. It was a case of the winner taking all.

A curious quality attending all prizefight publicity was the punctilio of public declarations. No hint of low barroom practice or brawling lack of nicety was evident in a public notice. Thus, on June 1, 1848, Yankee Sullivan caused to be published in the New York *Herald* this advertisement:

About six weeks since, while in the saloon on the corner of Park Place and Broadway, in a condition rendering me unable to defend myself against any attack, I was assailed in a most cowardly manner by a man of the name of Hyer. On the strength of it, accounts of the occurrence appeared in a number of newspapers, false in every particular, and which must have been inserted by Hyer himself or his friends. If I had been worsted in a fair fight, and by a person who knew anything about fighting, or had the courage to fight like a man, I should have taken no notice of it; but I consider it due to my friends to inform them in this way of the real character of the occurrence. I am no " Irish braggart " or " billy " although I am an Irishman, and believe I can show myself worthy of my country whenever I am required. If there are any who think they can make me " cry enough," like a whipped child, if 9 Chatham Street is not too far out of the way, I will be happy to have them make the call and the experiment. As for Hyer, I can " flax him out " without any exertion.

Tom Hyer was not a fellow to take such a challenge in silence. In the *Herald* he replied immediately:

Yesterday morning it was falsely stated in one of the advertisements of the N. Y. Herald, signed James Sullivan, that I had assailed him in an unjustifiable manner, and at a disadvantage, about six weeks ago in a saloon at the corner of Park Place and Broadway.

I wish merely to state that this fellow Sullivan assaulted me, and that I chastised him for it, as I can and shall do again on similar provocation by him or anyone else who improperly assaults me. I have only to add that Mr. Sullivan will find me always much readier to meet him anywhere than in the newspapers. Anywhere, however, I am his master.

These newspaper notices doubtless satisfied the curious sense of honor motivating pugilists a century ago. The air was cleared, conditions made right, foundation laid. Not many weeks were to elapse before a formal agreement would be drawn up as a frame for " a fair stand-up fight " as the forthcoming agreement would state.

Though pugilists of the 1850 period had their officers in their hats, and held their pourparlers at the saloon bar, they were sensitive to public opinion. They always spoke for the record. That was why Sullivan and Hyer resorted to the paid newspaper notices in the *Herald*. That was why they drew up written memoranda of their mutual intentions, and why, after a fight, a formal report was always rendered. To whom? That did not particularly matter; the objective was to have the report in writing.

The articles of agreement for the fight between Yankee Sullivan and Tom Hyer are dated August 7, 1848, approximately two months after their newspaper exchange. The prose of the document indicates that at the very least a barroom lawyer had a hand in its composition. The principals delimited their enmity by agreeing to be bound by the rule of Fistania, a written code that in this same year of 1848 aimed to mark a gentlemanly approach to fisticuffs. Sullivan and Hyer each obligated himself to furnish his respective umpire a copy of the Fistania code.

Much of the document was devoted to the dates, places of deposit, and manner of subscribing the side bet of $5,000. Provision was made to adjust the amount. It was subsequently increased to $10,000.

An indication to the 1848 status of prize-fighting was the vagueness of locating the battle. It was to be " within the states of Virginia, Maryland, or some other place. . . ." A more pointed indication was illuminated as follows:

> In case of magisterial interference or other interruption . . . which the umpires shall deem fair cause for adjourning the fight, the referee or stakeholder shall name the place and time for the next meeting of the parties to decide or terminate the fight. . . . [And again:] . . . No information shall be given to any person whereby the authorities may interfere to stop the fight.

The principals did not sign the Articles of Agreement. The document was only initialed by persons identified as representing the principals.

The agreement called for the fight to be held within six months from August 7. This provision was met exactly. The fight was held on February 7, 1849, about 40 miles from Baltimore.

Hyer triumphed over Yankee Sullivan, but that fact was a mere detail in their encounter. There were alarums, stratagems, a chase, escape—indeed all the thrills of a "whodunit." The story of this outdoor championship boxing match, held on a bitter cold February day on Maryland's Eastern Shore,[3] in a hastily improvised outdoor arena with snow blanketing the countryside, was painstakingly set down for the record, its truth attested by the fight's judges. To the document was appended their certification: "We hereby certify that we have seen the above rounds in manuscript as prepared for publication, and believe they present as full, correct, and impartial report of the fight, as could be made under the circumstances." Unlike the men who acted for Hyer and Sullivan in acknowledging the Articles of Agreement six months earlier, the judges, H. Colten and J. J. Wray, signed their names instead of merely initialing a document.

The author (name unknown) of the published manuscript went to a good deal of effort in relating the story of the preliminaries to the fight, before he came to recording the fight itself round by round. Who could blame him? He had a good story to tell.

The fight had been arranged to take place at Pooles Island,[4] in the upper part of Chesapeake Bay. It was a lonely, almost uninhabited spot, holding only a lighthouse and two other structures. It seemed advantageous; no local objection to prize-fighting was likely to arise there. Maryland authorities had determined, however, to prevent the fight. The six months buildup seemed to force them to action. Voices of virtue were loud. They swelled to a roar. Two days before the fight Governor Philip F. Thomas called out the soldiery.

The fight officials, gambling fraternity, and plain everyday fight followers had gathered in Baltimore intending to proceed by boat to Pooles Island. Each fighter's supporters had engaged a separate vessel. State officialdom served writs against the steamboat captains, preventing them from transporting the fight fans. Then

[3] Specifically, the fight took place on Rocky Point, Kent County, some six or seven miles southwest of Betterton. See J. T. Scharf: *Chronicles of Baltimore* (1874), pp. 528-529.

[4] In Harford County. Contemporary accounts call it Pool Island.

the State took over one of the ships, put soldiers aboard it, and gave orders to cruise the Chesapeake, and capture the prospective battlers, who already were at Pooles Island. Some of the more forthright fans, their ships immured, hired two oyster smacks. About 100 fans were aboard each smack, and they ventured forth to find their fun by sail.

The writer of the preamble to the round-by-round record had a nice appreciation of the drama connected with the battle he was recounting. He subdivided his account, giving each section an appropriate title. Thus we read of "The Descent of the Police," "Hyer's Escape," "Sullivan's Escape," "The Embarkation," "The Debarkation." The last sub-title referred to the disembarking of all concerned from their ships of passage. To quote the author of this 100-year-old document:

> It was . . . settled that Hyer's boat should take the lead, and all hands being rather wolfish by their various disappointments, agreed to drop upon the first convenient spot, whether it was Maryland, or Delaware, or Virginia, or hell. At half-past one o'clock they espied four or five small oyster smacks, and judging it to be a proper place, the crowd, to the number of some 200, debarked.

Sullivan tramped three-quarters of a mile to the nearest house. Hyer rode in a straw bottomed cart. They and their followers were secure from pursuit, for the soldiery were aboard one of the commandeered steamships, and it was grounded off Pooles Island.

Volunteers went to a nearby pine woods to cut stakes for the ring. The top gallant halyards of one of the sailing transports provided the ropes. The snow was swept from the fighting place. At ten minutes past four word was sent to Hyer and Sulivan that all was in readiness. Ten minutes later they were facing each other to begin Round 1.

Champions of their day did not carry the bulk of their modern prototypes. Hyer stood 6 feet 2½ inches, but weighed only 185 pounds. He towered over Sullivan, a mere 5 feet 10½ inches, and weighing 30 pounds less.[5]

Sullivan never had a chance. The author of the document describing the fight makes this fact clear in his round by round summary. His locutions would puzzle some of today's sport writers:

[5] A lithograph, "The Great Fight between Tom Hyer and Yankee Sullivan," by James Baillie, is reproduced in Marshall Davidson: *Life in America* (New York, 1951), II, 33. It shows the improvised ring, Hyer and Sullivan, and persistent spectators.

". . . He received a heavy punishment in the shape of a tremendous right-hand paixhan on the left eye." This could be from the Scot word "Paik" meaning a beating. Or this: "He let go with his dexter mawley." That must have meant a right-hand crusher.

Description was not lacking. For example:

> The hit in the eye, which Hyer received in the second round, now showed its colors, and puffed up with dirty pride and vanity over the surrounding flesh. . . . Sullivan's left eye . . . bore testimonials in crimson crevices of Hyer's black and long knuckles. [Again:] Both men came up bloody to the scratch, Sullivan being literally clotted with gore, while the clear crimson smoked on Hyer's chest. . . .

A word used over and over again is "limpsey," its purpose being to indicate insecurity when erect: "He was limpsey with weakness."

Under the Fistania rules, unlike the later Marquis of Queensberry rules, wrestling was a part of the boxer's technique. Sullivan had counted on his skill in wrestling as a stand-off to Hyer's superior strength. It did not avail him. In the very first round he tried to bring Hyer down and crush him, but failed. The anonymous reporter of the fight tells in the century-old document wherein Sullivan failed:

> . . . Sullivan rushed in at the body . . . and clinched his antagonist with the underhold, and struggled for the throw. This was the great point on which was to depend the result of the fight. Sullivan relied mainly for success upon his superior wrestling, and it was calculated by his friends and backers that a few of his favorite cross-buttocks would break his antagonist in his lithe and graceful waist. . . . The most terrible anxiety therefore existed. . . . The spectators, who stood in an outer ring of plank laid over the snow some feet distant from the ropes . . . rushed forward and swarmed upon the ropes. Two or three times did Sullivan knot his muscles with an almost superhuman effort, but all served only to postpone his overthrow, for when he had spent his power by these terrible impusions, his iron adversary wrenched him to the ground with the upper hold, and fell heavily, prone upon his body. . . .

That was in Round 1, and the fight was as good as decided then and there. But it went for 16 rounds until Sullivan was unable to continue. He was not knocked out, but altogether played out. Of the final round, the chronicler wrote:

> When time was called Sullivan was slow in rising . . . and it was evident that his fighting star had set, for the day at least. He walked in a limpsey manner toward the score, but when he put up his left arm the tremor which

shook it showed that it was distressed by pain. Hyer did not wait for him, but advancing beyond the score, let fly both right and left in Sullivan's face, who though he could not return it, took it without wincing. . . . Hyer then rushed him to the ropes . . . threw him and fell heavily upon him. . . . When he was taken off Sullivan was found to be entirely exhaused, and when lifted up reeled half around and staggered backward towards the ropes. The fight was done. He could not come back again, and one of his seconds took him from the ring without waiting for time to be called. Hyer's seconds . . . advanced to take Sullivan's colors as a trophy, but being interfered with by Ling (a Sullivan second) Hyer rushed forward himself, and seizing Ling, enabled his friend to take the prize. The shouts then went up for the victor, and the party commenced unthreading the stakes of their halyards for the journey back.

The fight's chronicler concludes his account by telling how the boats got up sail and made for Pooles Island. There still were the soldiers aboard their grounded steamer. The fight fans cheered them " as compensation . . . for neither arresting the principals nor getting a peep at the fight."

Two days later the New York *Tribune* carried a story of the fight. By then Hyer was being lionized in Philadelphia. Sullivan was in a Baltimore hospital, in bad shape. The stranded steamer had been freed and was back in Baltimore. One of Sullivan's trainers and one of Hyer's seconds, both of whom had been arrested when they pretended to be Sullivan and Hyer, respectively, and thus insured the fighter's escape from pursuers before the battle, were in jail, waiting to be bailed out.

There have been outdoor prizefights since the Hyer-Sullivan set-to but never another fought on snow-covered ground in a hastily made ring marked by fresh cut pine stakes secured and erected by spectators. Nowadays crowds make more of the ring-drama than the contestants. Then one had to be a hardy fellow even to be present at a fight. The whole scheme of arrangements was like a script for a movie of cops and robbers, but with " no foolin'." The Hyer and Sullivan fight was no exception; it was typical of boxing matches of its period. No " respectable " folk had anything to do with fighting, fighters, or the fandom fringe of encouragement for what they represented.

Hyer did not go from strength to strength. He did what many of his ilk did in fight circles of a century ago: He drank himself to death. Sullivan was not remade by defeat. He removed far from Five Points, but the remove was wholly geographical. His end came when he was hanged in California by the Vigilantes.

THE PRESIDENT READS A NEW BIOGRAPHY: 1851

PRESIDENTS are always busy men. Such was the implied but patient complaint of President Millard Fillmore one hundred years ago when he wrote to John Pendleton Kennedy, one of Maryland's most important men of letters. Kennedy had written on March 17 to ask the President to accept a copy of his book, *Memoirs of the Life of William Wirt, Attorney General of the United States*.[1] Busy though he was, the President "stole" time to read several passages from the volumes and to reply two and a half weeks later (April 2). He included an illuminating paragraph in which he recalled the influence of a Wirt speech and two of Wirt's books and acknowledged his support of Wirt in the presidential campaign of 1832.

Fillmore [2] and Kennedy [3] served together as Whigs in the House of Representatives in the years 1838-1839 and 1814-1843. Years later when William A. Graham of North Carolina resigned as Secretary of the Navy (1852), the President invited Kennedy to accept that cabinet post. The most notable event of Kennedy's

[1] Published in Philadelphia in two volumes in 1849. Probably a copy of the revised edition of 1850 was sent.

[2] Of humble origins Fillmore (1800-1874) was admitted to the bar in New York State, served in the legislature before he was 30, and was in Congress in the years 1833-1835 and 1837-1843. He unsuccessfully sought the governorship in 1844 and was serving as State Comptroller when elected Vice President in 1848. On the death of Zachary Taylor in July, 1850, he became Chief Executive. He also served as Chancellor of the University of Buffalo and as President of the Buffalo Historical Society. See *Dictionary of American Biography*, VI, 380-382, and W. E. Griffis: *Millard Fillmore,* (Ithaca, 1915).

[3] With little taste for the law, Kennedy (1795-1870) devoted much of his time to literary endeavors. In addition to his *Wirt*, he published *Swallow Barn* (Philadelphia, 1832), *Rob of the Bowl* (Philadelphia, 1838), *Quodlibet* (Philadephia, 1840), and other works. He befriended Edgar Allen Poe and assisted Samuel F. B. Morse. He served in the House of Representatives in the years 1838-1839 and 1841-1845. Kennedy was first president of the Board of Trustees of the Peabody Institute. See *Dictionary of American Biography,* X, 333-334; H. T. Tuckerman: *The Life of John Pendleton Kennedy* (New York, 1871); and V. L. Parrington: *Main Currents in American Thought,* (New York, 1927-1930), II, 46-56.

Secretaryship was the authorization of Commodore M. G. Perry's expedition to Japan. After the Fillmore administration left office, Kennedy accompanied the ex-President on an extensive trip through the South.

As many of the Fillmore Papers were deliberately destroyed,[4] the existence of a holograph Fillmore letter is of more than ordinary significance. The Fillmore document is part of the Kennedy Collection in the Maryland Historical Society. Kennedy's letter was located in a letter press copy book for the years 1849-1851 (pp. 513-515) in the Kennedy Papers in the Peabody Institute Library.[5] The two letters are reproduced on the following pages.

Baltimore March 17. 1851

My dear Mr President

Allow me, in presenting to your acceptance these Memoirs of the life of William Wirt, to gratify a very earnest regard and admiration inspired by many pleasant memories of the past, and still more by your eminent public service in your present exalted station.

I take the more pleasure in submitting these volumes to your judgment, from a conviction that no one is better able than your self to appreciate the narrative of a life which has so signally illustrated the sucess that follows in the train of virtuous endeavor aided by high talent and directed by an ardent love of country. It is a proud characteristic of our history that its annals are enriched by such examples.

I beg you to receive this work as the grateful remembrance of a comrade in that happy and glorious Twenty Seventh Congress,[6] which was no less distinguished for its service to the nation than for the occasions it furnished to many and enduring friendships.

With the best wishes of the continued prosperity of your administration, and for your personal welfare, I am

my dear Mr President
very truly
Your Friend
J. P. Kennedy

To Millard Fillmore
President of the U. S.

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[4] See Buford Rowland: "The Papers of the Presidents" in *The American Archivist*, XIII (July, 1950), 201-202. Most of the surviving papers are in the Buffalo Historical Society. See also Frank H. Severance (ed.): "Millard Fillmore Papers" in *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society*, X, XI (1907).

[5] Thanks are returned to Mr. Lloyd Griffin of the Peabody staff who located the letter and to Mr. Lloyd A. Brown, Librarian, who, on behalf of the Institute, granted permission to print the letter.

[6] John Quincy Adams, James A. Pearce, A. H. H. Stuart (Fillmore's Secretary of the Interior, 1850-1853), and Rufus Choate were among their colleagues in the House of Representatives in the Twenty Seventh Congress (1841-1843). The membership of the Senate then included Henry Clay, Franklin Pierce, Levi Woodbury, James Buchanan, John C. Calhoun, and W. C. Rives.

Hon. John P. Kennedy Washington, April 2. 1851.

My Dear Sir,

Your kind note accompanied by a splendid copy of your "*Life of Wirt*" came to hand on the 20th. ult. and I feel a pang of remorse at my apparent neglect in acknowledging so acceptable a favor. But the truth is, I have been exceedingly busy. The adjournment of Congress, seems thus far, only to have added to my labors and perplexities; and I was exceeding anxious to steal an hour to glance at the contents of your book before expressing my obligation for your kind remembrance. I have made several attempts, but at each time I became so interested and read so long that I had no time left to write. I have torn myself again from its enchanting pages, simply to say that I return you a thousand thanks for the pleasure I have enjoyed in the perusal.

Mr. Wirt was my candidate for President in 1832.[7] When quite young I had read his *British Spy*[8] and Life of Patrick Henry,[9] and his speech in defence of Blennerhassett.[10] These had impressed my youthful mind with a deep veneration for the man; and when I came into Congress in the fall of 1833, my *curiosity was on tiptoe* to see this idol of my imagination. Fortunately he was in attendance on the supreme court the ensuing winter, and I not only had the pleasure of making his acquaintance, but he did me the honor to move my admission as attorney & counsellor of that court. His personal appearance and conversational powers fully met my expectations, but I have always regretted that I never enjoyed the pleasure of witnessing his forensic powers in argument.

But you must pardon this digression & permit me again to repeat my sincere thanks for the Book, and my profoundest acknowledgments for the kind manner in which you were pleased to speak of my administration.

I have a very vivid and very pleasant recollection of Mrs Kennedy[11]—perhaps more than I ought to admit to her esteemed husband—and if she recollects me, I beg that you will do me the honor to present to her my kindest regards.

I write in haste without time to copy, which must be my apology for this imperfect note.

I have the honor to be
My Dear Sir,
Your sincere friend
Millard Fillmore

[Endorsed:] April 1851
Millard Fillmore
President U. S.

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[7] Wirt was a candidate on the Anti-Mason ticket and ran third to Andrew Jackson, Democrat, and Henry Clay, Whig.

[8] *The Letters of the British Spy* (Richmond, 1803).

[9] *Sketches of the Life and Character of Patrick Henry* (Philadelphia, 1817).

[10] See Kennedy's *Wirt*, I, 193-195.

[11] The second Mrs. Kennedy was the former Elizabeth Gray (1808-1879), of Ellicott Mills. They were married in 1829.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The Amiable Baltimoreans. By FRANCIS F. BEIRNE. New York: Dutton, 1951. 400 pp. $5.

Everyone has always known that it takes a Greek to catch a Greek. Latterly, a proper Bostonian has mercilessly revealed the peculiarities of his fellow citizens. Baltimoreans may — conversely — be well pleased that Francis F. Beirne, a Virginian, and therefore an admirer of Baltimore, has drawn upon memories of many happy years here to write a truly delightful, albeit somewhat flattering, history of the city and its inhabitants.

The Virginians who came to Baltimore between 1865 and the end of the century left behind them a war-torn state and a wrecked economy. They undoubtedly looked upon Baltimore as the business metropolis of the South. In fact they founded great enterprises and took commanding places in every aspect of the city's life. They are entitled to eternal thanks for bringing about the political reform concerning which previously much had been spoken, but little done. As they prospered increasingly, Virginia rang with admiration of the city where the sorrows of the war had been gloriously overcome by these energetic emigrants. Still, their coming to that city was, to a large degree at the outset, *ex necessitate.*

Quite different was Mr. Beirne's arrival. As the son of a distinguished and successful Richmond editor, he first attended the Gilman School. Later he took his bachelor's degree at the University of Virginia, and afterwards enjoyed a refresher course in cultivated urbanity at Oxford. Only then, in full intellectual maturity, and with the whole world to choose from, did he deliberately conclude that Baltimore should be his home. *The Amiable Baltimoreans* convincingly proves that he has never regretted his choice.

The chapters on the city's beginnings readably summarize many ponderous volumes of earlier and less sprightly historians. But the principal contribution of the book is the informal descriptions of more recent happenings. Here the author records affairs known to him personally. These, as interpreted by him, and with strict omission of anything unpleasant, arouse his most fervent enthusiasm for the city of his adoption.

The chapter on the important topic of local gourmandizing accurately gives the economic reasons and local habits—including specific examples of historic over-eating—that led to Baltimore's erstwhile great fame as the gastronomic capital of the Union. The unhappy decline of the last generation is equally well set forth. It fails to overcome the author's faith in

Baltimore, propped up by hopes of long range conservation measures and interim picturesqueness in the numerically increasing restaurants that serve at least semi-edible food.

The two figures most conspicuous among the amiable of the city are Betsy Patterson and her latter day sister-in-arms, Wallis Warfield. Their royal marriages and the scarcely less spectacular conquests of the Caton sisters reveal the impact of amiability in its most extreme form upon dynastic and global happenings. The chapters of families prominent only on this side of the Atlantic preserve many merry quips and charming anecdotes. These also show the character of Baltimoreans in the most pleasant light, in contrast with earlier years' murderous mob and gang fights, glossed over as youthful indiscretions of the fast growing city of the 19th century.

A French authority has defined the polite as those who make others feel pleased with themselves. Under this definition, *The Amiable Baltimoreans* will never be surpassed as a monument of literary politeness. It will be read with studious care by those who strive to understand Baltimore. It will captivate all who love the ancient city and its ways.

DOUGLAS GORDON

Boundary Monuments on the Maryland-Pennsylvania and the Maryland-Delaware Boundaries. By WILLIAM H. BAYLIFF. Annapolis: Maryland Board of Natural Resources, 1951. 100 pp. $.25.

Mr. Bayliff, Executive Secretary of the Board of Natural Resources, has gone all the way back in this pamphlet. The Maryland Charter, the Pennsylvania Charter, and the ensuing boundary disputes between the Penns and Lord Baltimore form an introduction to the problem which presently concerns both politicians and students of history, to say nothing of the gamewardens. This is the condition of the stones which are supposed to mark the Maryland-Pennsylvania and Maryland-Delaware boundaries. Much has happened to them since the resurvey of 1900-1903. Natural processes and accidents as well as progress— in the form of roads and reservoirs and so on—have combined to eliminate or deface many stones, and the collector's instinct has done the rest of the damage. For some of these stones are not only antiques but storied ones, the same monuments set up by the " scientific gentlemen," Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, in the 1760's. If you have a part of the authentic Mason and Dixon Line you can always be on the side of it you prefer. Other collectors found the stones useful, too, as chimney-pieces or steps; but all this has been hard on the Maryland boundary line.

Following in the steps of the original surveyors and those who resurveyed in 1849-1850, in 1885, and in 1900-1903, Mr. Gwynn Reel and Dr. A. L. Trussel have examined, photographed, and described all the monuments on, respectively, the Maryland-Pennsylvania and the Maryland-

Delaware boundaries. Doctor Trussell organized this part of the material and Mrs. William H. Bayliff, the author's wife, did the not inconsiderable historical research which introduces and illuminates this detailed report. The result seems excellently presented and carefully prepared.

ELLEN HART SMITH

Consolidated of Baltimore, 1816-1950. A History of Consolidated Gas Electric Light and Power Company of Baltimore. By THOMSON KING. Baltimore: 1950. vi, 335 pp.

This volume contains a well rounded and delightfully presented account of the "Consolidated of Baltimore" from the creation of its earliest ancestors down to the present day. The author, in his preface, states that his primary aim is "to create a readable account of the origin, development and life" of the company. In this respect, as well as others, he has distinctly succeeded. The book clearly surpasses most similar histories of existing companies in steadily holding the attention and interest of the average reader, despite the complexities of available material. This is particularly true as to history of the present company, and its components, up to the period of the First World War. Later developments, while of more business-wise importance, are still too well known to be clothed in any romantic aura.

One of the reassuring features of the story is that the author has not apparently avoided bringing out various facts which it was natural, from time to time, for company management to prefer to be neglected or forgotten. One of these (there are other types) is the giving of proper credit to Benjamin Henfrey whose successful demonstration, in 1802, of illuminating gas in Baltimore was the first of its kind in the New World. This Baltimore "first" was buried for countless years by the prominence given to the somewhat similar demonstration of the famed Rembrandt Peale, in 1816. Few have previously realized that while Rembrandt Peale and his associates formed the first American gas light company in 1816 (a "first" of major importance) the use of gas for lighting had been actually demonstrated here, by Henfrey, fourteen years earlier.

One of the chief reasons why the Consolidated story is so interesting is that the author consistently hangs it on the framework of contemporary history. For instance, he describes what Baltimore was in 1816, (as well as in later years), and gives many sketches of the founders of the company, their successors and also their competitors.

In regard to more recent history, the author does not always give a correct impression of certain details. However, the Consolidated's "Power Pictorial" (to which he gives highly deserved praise) and the monthly reports of the Industrial Bureau of the Baltimore Association of Commerce (June 1919 to date) will furnish the future historian with a wealth of data

concerning individual companies. These and other minor criticisms, even if outlined, would be immaterial compared to the sound value of this able presentation of the life story of one of America's outstanding public service corporations.

Many well chosen and highly interesting illustrations are included in this volume. The frontispiece represents the Consolidated's "family tree" from earliest times. It not only clarifies some of the text but shows on one page the large number of Baltimore or nearby Baltimore utilities which have played some part, at some time, in the creation of the present company.

H. Findlay French

The West of Alfred Jacob Miller. By Marvin Ross. Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1951. 456 pp. $10.

This handsome volume of two hundred plates is a satisfactory work from many angles. It supplies the artist's annotations for each painting reproduced and an account of the artist's life by Marvin C. Ross, Curator of Medieval and Subsequent Decorative Arts at the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, which institution owns the paintings themselves.

Mr. Ross's foreword on Miller is brief, but he places the Baltimorean with others of the period in the European studios and this happily shows that the skill evident in the works is not the product of a "native self-taught genius." The foreword errs perhaps on the side of understatement and compression; the bibliography on American 19th century watercolors is not large and a few paragraphs on these, as compared to the English and European, would be welcome, as would a more detailed critique of the artist's technique. I think Miller would stand up as a more than competent recorder and as an artist of no mean ability. But so unusual a fault in an author is to be commended—at the moment most "old artists," when rediscovered and published, suffer from over-enthusiastic "puffs." Mr. Ross views the work of an American artist with a sense of proportion, a welcome sign for ultimate evaluation.

The greater part of the text of this quarto consists of the artist's descriptions, comments and "apt literary quotations" (surely they must have been so called in his day) on the scene reproduced on the opposite page. These readable paragraphs serve as guides to the subject material and pleasantly reflect the mind and personality of the painter. They also serve as a truly painless introduction to North American ethnology, natural history, folkways, and frontier psychology. Preceding generations were brought up on the Catlin and Audubon volumes; today's public possibly will find these pages as entrancing as those, now, alas, vanished into rare book rooms.

Long before Miller's day, or the day of the candid camera, artists (topographical and scientific draftsman) were included among the members of exploring expeditions, to do the work of today's reporter. Mr. Ross cites

Delacroix's visit to Algiers with Morny, Raffer's to the Caucasus with Demidoff and Bodmer's to Missouri with Maximilian of Wied-Neuwied in 1833. Long before this in America had appeared Master White with Raleigh's colony at Roanoke and LeMoyne with the French in Carolina. Miller's value to Captain Stewart, whose expedition he accompanied, was similar to theirs to their employers. Miller well fulfilled the faith his patron put in his powers. Mr. Ross' foreword mentions notebooks and on-the-spot sketches; the only distressing facet of this work is the omission of these drawings and paintings to contrast and compare with the finished studio versions. Had any been reproduced it would have been possible to evaluate the additions suggested by time, taste, or memory in the replicas.

The publication of the paintings, with the text, which Mr. Ross projected and sponsored, proves the prophecy of Vigne who, in 1833, predicted fame for Miller and said he would be "an ornament to his native city," Baltimore.

ANNA WELLS RUTLEDGE

Portraits in Delaware 1700-1850. A Check List Compiled by the National Society of Colonial Dames of America in the State of Delaware. Wilmington, 1951. 176 pp. $4.

This ambitious undertaking by the National Society of Colonial Dames of America in the State of Delaware is in the form of a check list of early American portraiture currently owned in that state. It brings to the forefront an amazing number of significant works and indicates the importance of the second smallest state in colonial days. There are 295 portraits listed in the publication, and 36 of them are reproduced in black and white. Following the text and illustrations a section is devoted to notes on the artists whose paintings are included.

Notable among the works listed are Joseph Badger's portrait of his son "Benjamin Badger"; Benjamin West's unfinished sketch of "John Jay, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Henry Laurens and William Temple Franklin"; a "Self-Portrait" by John Singleton Copley; "Lafayette" by Charles Willson Peale; Rembrandt Peale's "Benjamin Henry Latrobe"; "George Washington at the Battle of Princeton" by James Peale; and "Henry Clay" by Matthew Harris Jouett.

Some other artists of importance in the history of American portraiture, whose works are among those represented in the "Diamond State," are Jean Baptiste Greuze, John Wollaston, Gilbert Stuart, James and Ralph Earl, Mather Brown, St. Mémin, John Vanderlyn, Thomas Sully, and John Neagle.

Of particular interest to Marylanders is the abundance of portraits by artists working in this locale which have found their way north and east across the border into Delaware. To be seen there are works by Gustavus Hesselius, who settled in Annapolis and painted likenesses of many Mary-

land families; Charles Wesley Jarvis, a miniature and portrait painter in Baltimore; Joshua Johnston, the Baltimorean who became the first known American Negro painter; Alfred Jacob Miller, Baltimore's painter of the west; and Rembrandt Peale, Robert Edge Pine, Andrew John Henry Way, and Matthew Wilson.

Also worthy of note is the fact that not only have Maryland artists and its prominent families contributed generously to the collection of *Portraits in Delaware 1700-1850*, but the handlists of the Maryland Historical Society compiled by Anna Wells Rutledge acted as an inspiration and guide for this publication.

BENNARD B. PERLMAN

The Johns Hopkins University.

A Directory of the Book-Arts and Book Trade in Philadelphia to 1820, including Painters and Engravers. By H. GLENN BROWN and MAUDE O. BROWN. New York: New York Public Library, 1950. 129 pp. $2.50.

This useful tool is another in the slowly growing series—which hitherto included only New York (1633-1820) and Boston (1800-1825)—of comprehensive directories of the book arts and book trade in early America. It is time that Philadelphia, during most of this period the largest and culturally the most important city in this country, should be added to the list. The comprehensiveness of the present work is shown by the fact that it includes not only the expected booksellers, printers, and engravers, but also such ancillary and peripheral trades as typefounding, inkselling, parchment making, and auctioneering; the authors have tried not to omit "any who might conceivably be sought here." Their material they painstakingly assembled from what they call "the scarce . . . and disintegrating sets of Philadelphia directories," from Philadelphia newspapers of the period, and from many other sources. The end-product of their labors is a valuable aid to scholars interested in the development of the book trade in this country and to bibliographers in search of imprint information.

ROGER PATTRELL BRISTOL

Peabody Institute Library.

The Ropemakers of Plymouth. By SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1950. vi, 177 pp. $3.

This little book by the distinguished naval historian and author of *The Maritime History of Massachusetts* presents the story of the Plymouth Cordage Company, a corporation now thoroughly identified with all the tradition and background generally associated with New England industry. Mr. Morison has done more than give his readers a bare business history,

however, because the Plymouth Cordage Company in its career typifies the whole procession of American life and its development from the early industrial revolution and emergence from handicraft to modern machine methods. In 1824 the manufacturing processes were crude and largely performed by hand. The clipper ship had not yet been dreamt of nor had railroads and oil wells and all the rest of what makes modern life. The company was almost exclusively dependent on the vast number of sailing vessels of all sizes and types which were being built in the neighboring towns on Massachusetts Bay. As the business grew we see the company reaching out to New Bedford and its whalers, and to Maine, and even as far as to New York.

Mr. Morison traces the company's progress through the various cycles of business history of the 19th century: the Clipper Ship era just prior to the Civil War, and war itself, the railroads, the Pennsylvania oil fields, and how the directors weathered the several storms which beset the company's course—panics, depressions, cut-throat competition, trusts, and finally, in more recent times, labor difficulties. All were withstood and through it all one can sense the deep feeling for integrity and maintenance of quality which were adhered to through thick and thin.

From a little firm employing only 50 hands in 1825 and turning out only about 750,000 pounds of cordage per year, to the present, when over 1,000 are employed and the output is something like a million and a half pounds per week, it has come a long way, and Mr. Morison covers the subject very thoroughly.

The readers who are especially interested in ships will find in this book, in the text and in the appendix, a vast amount of valuable information. There is also an appendix devoted to useful knots and how to tie them—well illustrated with drawings.

EDWARD S. CLARK

Under Sail and in Port in the Glorious 1850's. Journal of Charlotte A. Page. Edited by ALVIN P. JOHNSON. Salem: Peabody Museum, 1950. 79 pp. $4.50.

Pleasantly presented is this diary of a fifteen year old girl, kept from May 1 to October 3, 1852, during a voyage aboard the sailing ship "George Washington," from New York to Mobile, to Liverpool, and back to New York. The 79-page book includes excerpts from a diary and letters written by her brother, Alvin R. Page, Junior, during a later voyage.

Unfortunately, the student of the sailing ship days will get little out of it. One wishes Miss Page had shown more interest in physical life for a girl aboard ship, the cabin arrangements and meals, for instance, than her somewhat repetitious routine of sewing, walking, and piano playing. Aside from an occasional touch of seasickness and brief descriptions of new places, her activities and observations must have been pretty much what they were on shore.

WILLIAM B. CRANE

A National Program for the Publication of the Papers of American Leaders. By the NATIONAL HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS COMMISSION. Washington: The Commission, 1951. x, 47 pp.

J. Franklin Jameson, one of the most distinguished of Herbert Adams' students at Johns Hopkins, urged the establishment of a functioning publications commission for many years. When an independent commission could not be had, he accepted one in 1934 as part of the National Archives. For whatever reasons, the Commission remained dormant until last year when President Truman accepted a copy of the first volume of Julian Boyd's *Papers of Thomas Jefferson.* The President asked the Commission (whose distinguished membership now includes Richard H. Shryock of Johns Hopkins) what could be done to publish the papers of other great Americans. This preliminary report is the Commission's tentative answer.

The Commission will not itself edit and publish papers but will lend its aid and encouragement and try to serve as catalyst for the publishing organizations. For example, it proposes that several Pennsylvania societies might join in publishing the Franklin Papers. The list of men and women whose papers are suggested for publication includes Jane Addams, Louis Agassiz, Francis Asbury, Henry Barnard, Charles Bulfinch, Joseph Henry, and Joseph Pulitzer as well as better known public officials. The four Marylanders represented are Archbishop John Carroll, B. H. Latrobe, Roger B. Taney, and W. H. Welch. It is to be hoped that the Maryland Historical Society at a proper time can do its full share in this work. This report, to which full justice cannot be done on a brief notice, is a landmark worth the attention of every person seriously interested in the history of America.

F. S.

Liberty and Property. By R. V. COLEMAN. New York: Scribner's, 1951. xiii, 606 pp. $5.

Several years ago in *The First Frontier,* Mr. Coleman related the story of the North American settlement to the 1660's. In the present volume he carries the story forward another century. His publishers have called the result "The Story of the Fabulous Century in which the United States was Born: 1664-1765." Historians of the colonial period will agree that this century is both fascinating and important; yet many of them will greet Mr. Coleman's *Liberty and Property* with searching criticism of its limitations, little enthusiasm for its merits, and insufficient attention to the author's purpose—to write an interesting narrative history for the general reader.

In the course of many years with Scribner's, Mr. Coleman has had a large share in the production of such standard historical reference works as the *Dictionary of American History,* the *Atlas of American History,* and the *Dictionary of American Biography.* With this kind of publishing experience, Mr. Coleman shows an appreciation of the essential geographic

unity of colonial history; and he takes full advantage of the many colorful personalities of the period. He skillfully uses even unimportant persons to give life to important facts. The Frenchman Jean Couture, for example, was a member of Tonti's 1686 expedition in search of LaSalle (pp. 129, 134); later Couture led a party of English traders from Charleston, [South] Carolina, to the Cherokee territory across the Appalachians (p. 294). These two episodes in the life of an obscure French fur trader and woodsman help to point out both the alternative lines of approach to the lower Mississippi Valley and the struggle for the trade of that region.

Were this an interpretative or analytical work intended for the student of colonial history, *Liberty and Property* could be subjected to serious criticism on several grounds. Colonialists will find in it little that is new or that has not been stated more accurately and fully elsewhere. The general reader, however, will enjoy a narrative full of life and color.

JOHN M. HEMPHILL, II

Princeton University.

The People's General, The Personal Story of Lafayette. By DAVID LOTH. New York: Scribner's, 1951. vi, 346 pp. $3.50.

Lafayette's love for America was reciprocated during and long after his lifetime. He maintained a close friendship with such diverse figures as Hamilton and Jefferson, Gouverneur Morris, and James Monroe. Lafayette was, indeed, a combination of aristocrat and revolutionist. It was George Washington, however, whom Lafayette placed first in his heart, for Washington was a father to Lafayette as well as to his country.

As the sub-title implies, Mr. Loth has made no pretense of writing a definitive scholarly account of Lafayette. It is, instead, a "personal story" —dramatic and flowing, at once interpretive and objective. Two revolutions pass rapidly in review. We see Lafayette's first engagement on the Brandywine; a fleeting glimpse of Valley Forge; the abortive attempt to invade Canada; the startling climax at Yorktown when "The World Turned Upside Down."

The French Revolution and its aftermath receive the same quick-moving treatment: the fall of the Bastille, the march on Versailles, the flight of the royal family, the intrigues of the *emigrés*. Through it all moves the figure of Lafayette, attempting to solve the eternal problem of reconciling liberty and order.

There are glaring omissions, e. g., Lafayette's interest and aid in the negotiations between England and America in 1813-1814 are not mentioned. Despite this, Mr. Loth has written a highly entertaining account of one of America's most popular figures.

MORTON BORDEN

The City College, New York.

Reunion and Reaction: The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction. By C. VANN WOODWARD. Boston: Little, Brown, 1951. x, 262 pp. $4.

Professor Woodward has finally dug out the true story of the final chapter in Southern redemption from reconstruction. He proves conclusively that it was not achieved by the Wormley Conference, as usually represented, but by a long series of negotiations, political and economic, which preceded and was entirely independent of it. He has finally relegated that conference to its proper place as an appendix—an unnecessary one at that, for agreement between the Hayes forces and Southern Democrats had already been attained.

His research has unearthed the truth in the only places where it could be found—in the letters exchanged between the various principals to the "bargain"—the Hayes, Dodge, Blair, Garfield Papers, etc., and in the newspapers of the time.

In the first place, the author recognizes the arrangement between Hayes and the Southern leaders for what it was—the fourth of our great historical compromises. He has with a masterly hand drawn together the various threads that made compromise possible: the political elements, which were handled by President Hayes's personal friends, together with the help of A. J. Kellar, editor of the Memphis *Avalanche*, who commanded the confidence of Southerners, available because of his earlier Union proclivities and friendship with Hayes's closest personal friend; the economic elements, manifested chiefly in the Southern hunger for Federal subsidies for internal improvements; and the numerous other issues causing ill-feeling between the Northern and Southern wings of the Democratic Party.

The author has shown considerable imagination, as well as intimate knowledge of the history of the time, in his choice of striking chapter titles: "The Rejuvenation of Whiggery," "The *Quid Pro Quo*," "Apotheosis of Carpetbaggery," to quote but a few. The final chapter traces the results of this effort at reconciliation between the sections, showing how the compromise was violated in letter and spirit by both sides, how the proposed coalition of Hayes's followers with the old Southern Whigs failed when a tide of agrarian radicalism swept the upland Southerners into the arms of the agrarian West. He points out, however, that the compromise has remained "inviolate" as a foundation for peace between the sections on the race question.

This brilliant analysis of a complex subject in small compass will probably stand as the definite work on this subject and should by virtue of its lucid style find a wide reading public.

ELLA LONN

Miracle at Kitty Hawk: The Letters of Wilbur and Orville Wright. Edited by FRED C. KELLY. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Young, 1951. ix, 482 pp. $6.

Fred C. Kelly, the authorized biographer of the Wright brothers, has now culled from their voluminous letter-files a first hand account of the trials and tribulations that went into the development, recognition, and acceptance of human flight. The editor, aiming this book at the general reader, has eliminated much material of a highly technical nature, as well as correspondence pertaining to legal and routine business matters.

What emerges from these letters is the tale of two gifted young bachelors who through study, observation, experimentation, and imagination completely solved the problem of human flight on December 17, 1903. Then came the even more difficult problem of getting the flying machine accepted. Naturally, the Wright brothers wanted their own government to have first claim upon their invention. However, as Wilbur wrote in 1906, "the answers of the [War] department officials were so insulting in tone as to preclude any further advances on our part." After a series of rebuffs they entered into negotiations first with European governments and then with foreign corporations. Only after receiving widespread recognition abroad did the United States Government realize the potentialities of the Wright brothers airplane. While Wilbur was in Europe in 1908 demonstrating the use of the machine, Orville through a series of brilliant flights at Fort Myer, Virginia, finally convinced the military of its importance. In 1909 Wilbur resided for a while in College Park, Maryland, the site of the first military air center, in order to teach army personnel how to fly.

Strange to say both brothers first considered their invention an instrument of peace. They felt that the airplane could play an important role in preventing wars, because it would enable each participant to know what his opponent was doing and thereby make it more difficult for either to gain a decided advantage. Commercial use of the airplane, they thought, would be possible only in the distant future. After Wilbur's death in 1912 and with the first World War, Orville became converted to the idea of victory through air-power. He wrote in 1917, "to end the war quickly and cheaply, the supremacy in the air must be so complete as to entirely blind the enemy;" the ramifications of this statement are still being debated at the present time.

Furthermore, through the pages of this book the reader is introduced to Octave Chanute and his important role in the history of aviation, especially his encouragement of the two brothers; he is made aware of the dispute with Smithsonian Institution which until 1942 did not recognize the Wright brothers plane as the first machine capable of making a sustained flight, and which until 1948 did not house it. In short, through this interesting volume of letters, the editor has presented a virtual autobiography of Wilbur and Orville Wright.

RICHARD LOWITT

University of Maryland.

George Foster Peabody: Banker, Philanthropist, Publicist. By LOUISE WARE. Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1951. x, 279 pp. $4.

George Foster Peabody, a native of Georgia, successfully invaded New York and became a very successful, although uncelebrated, investment banker. A partner in Spencer Trask and Company, Peabody had investments in western and Mexican railroads, Mexican mines, the new and very profitable electrical industry, and the sugar beet industry. Twenty-five years on Wall Street netted Peabody a personal fortune estimated variously at from three million to forty million dollars, and Peabody retired from active business in 1906 to devote the rest of his life to giving away his fortune for a variety of worthy causes and to playing Democratic politics.

One of Peabody's primary interests was improvement in the quality and availability of education. His poverty as a youth had forced Peabody to leave school when he was fourteen, and he gave much of his fortune so that other youths would not have to do the same. He was one of the founders of the General Education Board and an important contributor to several colleges and universities, north and south, Negro and white. He was a trustee of the University of Georgia, Skidmore College, Colorado College, and Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes. Peabody also gave considerable sums to churches and the YMCA.

For a man who professed advocacy of a number of progressive causes—government ownership of railroads and public utilities, the single tax, pacifism, and anti-imperialism—his record in the Democrat party was most conservative. He was a Gold Democrat in 1896, and he was national party treasurer in 1904, when both major parties were under fire for accepting large contributions from business interests. He warmly supported Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt, but he also backed such conservative Democrats as William McAdoo and John W. Davis.

There was a great deal that was inconsistent in George Foster Peabody, and Miss Ware does not explain fully enough these paradoxes. He was a heavy investor in railroads and public utilities, but he advocated federal ownership in this field. He had many investments in Mexican mining properties, but he was opposed to imperialism. He worked tirelessly for increased opportunities for the Negro, but he distributed reprints of a poem entitled, *Rise, Mighty Anglo-Saxons.* He urged such radical measures as the nationalization of railroads and public utilities, but he championed a reactionary national sales tax. And he accepted the position of national treasurer of the Democrat party, when its presidential candidate was Alton B. Parker and its national chairman was Thomas Taggart, in order "to keep 'plutocratic tendencies' from increasing in government." The reader reasonably expects explanations of these inconsistencies, but the author seldom enlightens him.

Miss Ware has obviously done an impressive amount of research in preparation for this book, but her product does not do justice to the effort she has made.

DAVID A. SHANNON

Teachers College, Columbia University.

Plain Folk of the Old South. By Frank L. Owsley. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1949. xi, 235 pp. $3.50.

This volume is a study of the middle class whites in the Old South based upon tax lists, and the census reports of 1850 and 1860. Owsley, who delivered most of the materials in this book as lectures at the Louisiana State University in 1948, calls these people "the plain folk" because they were to a great extent the core of Southern social structure. From the ranks of this group which was largely rural in its thoughts, traditions, and legends came the large landowners and a substantial proportion of those in the learned professions. Consequently, a more comprehensive study was thought necessary to restore the middle class whites to their proper place of importance in Southern life.

Owsley destroys the stereotyped conception of the South which was built up by Frederick Law Olmsted and those who emulated his writings. A large middle class did exist in the South, insists Owsley. He further breaks down the myth that all of the Southern population belonged either to the aristocracy or to the poor white groups. Southern society was definitely one of great complexity for Owsley proves his point through the study of numerous county records, census reports, and tax lists which he has examined by a sampling method to obtain a truer picture of the social and economic life of the Old South.

These "plain folk" were an important element in the Old South. Owsley has examined their religious practices, amusements, economy, and political role. He takes a favorable view of their literacy rate. At the same time, he points out that migration and settlement followed a pattern similar to those employed in making the original settlements. This profoundly affected the social and economic outlook of the middle class and created a close knit family group as well as a more significant role for them in the political life of the Old South.

Owsley's volume is a significant contribution to the better understanding of Southern history. No longer can historians adhere to the myth of the lack of the existence of a large and important middle class in the Old South. He has failed to destroy the fact that slavery and the plantation system completely dominated the area. Nevertheless, this volume minimizes the influence of the magnolia blossom tradition. It is also possible that later historians may determine Owsley's sampling technique to be in error. This would appear somewhat doubtful because of the thoroughness with which he has assembled his facts. He has, moreover, performed a great service in exhuming the "plain folk" from oblivion and restoring them to their rightful place in Southern history.

Frank F. White, Jr.

Cracker Parties. By HORACE MONTGOMERY. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1950. viii, 278 pp. $4.

Accepting the thesis that the Civil War was an "irrepressible conflict," the author states that the purpose of this valuable and fine study is "to show how Georgia's party structure reflected the growing mood of finality." The account covers the period from the Compromise of 1850 to the outbreak of the War. The conversion in Georgia from the "Jacksonian dogma to the credo of John C. Calhoun" is the major theme. Howell Cobb's importance in this period is deliberately emphasized by Montgomery, and the emphasis seems well placed.

Georgia has more than produced her share of politicians and many statesmen. The 1850s provided these leaders with unusual opportunities as national, sectional, and state issues of importance came to the fore and were met. Such men as Howell Cobb, Alexander H. Stephens, Robert Toombs, H. V. Johnson, and others do not often happen along at any given time. This was a period when Georgians, accustomed to the two-party system, found themselves confronted with a great variety of political organizations and factions. There were such groups as Scott Whigs (Scotties), Supplementals, TERTIUM QUIDS, and Tugaloes. Nevertheless, the author asserts with authority that the central theme of Georgia's history during the period was the growing power of the Democratic party. The ascendancy of the latter, however, was delayed until after the original Democratic and Whig parties had been supplanted in Georgia by the Constitutional Union and Southern Rights parties and their "splinters," and until after the decline of the Know-Nothings (known in Georgia as "Sam"). The multiplicity of issues and the abundance of candidates confused even intelligent voters.

The study is based upon newspapers which have been handled well. But one does wonder how some of the Georgian editors in the smaller towns could be so knowing and dogmatic about national and regional as well as state affairs. Rather heavy reliance upon some of these editors might be questioned for one suspects a lack of depth and acumen in some cases. In fairness, it should be stated that Montgomery was fully aware of this. These editors often appeared too involved in the national slavery controversy to concentrate properly on local politics. Without the local perspective, they often seemed unable to place the national picture in its proper setting. The election of Joseph E. Brown as governor in 1857 ended the subordination of the state political organization to national party interests.

Cracker Parties evolved from a doctoral dissertation which is usually not an inducement to the general reader and often a deterrent to the professional historian not especially interested in the subject. In this instance, however, the emphasis, re-emphasis, frequent repetition, and some overlapping which one finds are helpful in finding one's way through a maze of parties, factions, candidates, and issues. Montgomery, by and large,

has done a splendid job; his synthesis clears up much of the confusion attending a normal study of this period.

CHARLES B. CLARK

Washington College.

South Carolina Goes to War 1860-1865. By CHARLES CAUTHEN. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1950. vii, 256 pp. $1.25.

The political history of South Carolina is so closely interrelated with the history of the nation between 1860 and 1865 that it is frequently impossible to separate the two. The study of the Democratic convention at Charleston, the secession movement, the diplomacy to secure control of the forts in Charleston harbor, and the attack on Fort Sumter all played an important part in the history of those years. The relationship between South Carolina and the nation had quite obviously been studied thoroughly heretofore. No volume had been previously published which dealt with the South Carolina side of the story, however. Cauthen's book considers that angle to present a comprehensive treatment of the political history of South Carolina during the Civil War. His book proves even more conclusively that States' rights did cause the collapse of the Confederacy, even though South Carolinians supported the Davis administration, believe in the principles of the Confederacy, and play an outstanding part in the disruption of the Union.

Cauthen has done a good job in the preparation of this volume. It is heavily and thoroughly documented, and his bibliography is extensive. However, several minor typographical errors have crept in. One of them is the consistent misspelling of the name of Kenneth M. Stampp. It is to be regretted that the author did not include more materials of a social and economic nature. Nevertheless, the book is of value as an extremely well-written state history which deals with the Civil War period. It is to be hoped that some day some one will treat Maryland as comprehensively as Mr. Cauthen has South Carolina.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

Richmond In World War II. By FRANCIS E. LUTZ. Richmond: Dietz Press, 1951. xv, 623 pp. $7.50.

Richmond in World War II presents an overall picture of life in an American city from September 1939 through 1946. Organized chronologically and written informally, chiefly from newspaper sources, the book records both the important and the unimportant actions of Richmonders on the theory that "the unimportant often is the best barometer of what was on the minds of a people at a given time." The author covers his field by noting briefly with little comment the pleasant and unpleasant phases of social life, economic and financial problems, political leanings

and editorial opinions, business and industrial developments, and municipal growth. Appended to the text is a roster of Richmonders who died in the war and another of those who received decorations. A supplement presents additional rosters of the National Guard, State Guard and Minute Men, as well as information relative to the wartime functioning of the Red Cross, the U. S. O., Selective Service, and the Office of Civilian Defense. Aside from presenting a readable and informative account of the war years in Richmond, the book serves as an excellent preliminary reference for students who may wish to delve further into details.

H. R. MANAKEE

Indian Place-Names in Delaware. By A. R. DUNLAP and C. A. WESLAGER. Wilmington: Archaeological Society of Delaware, 1950. xvi, 61 pp. $1.

This monograph on Indian place-names in Delaware is all that we should expect from such highly competent authors. We wish only that these busy men had time to compile a work on the Indian place-names of Maryland. Mr. Weslager's tribute to his deceased friend, the distinguished anthropologist, Dr. Frank G. Speck, is beautifully written, and even those who have never heard of Dr. Speck will find it worth reading.

With the utmost pains the authors have examined old documents relating to Delaware for Indian place-names, thus laying a basis for a work which is a valuable contribution to Delaware archaeology. In their interpretation of the meaning of these Indian place-names, which may be classified as those still in use in Delaware and those extinct names the authors have brought to light (the latter greatly outnumber the former), they have exercised all due caution. Early English, Swedish, and Dutch scribes had difficulties with Indian words, which, as was natural, they passed over lightly. They had no way of recording all the sounds they heard from the Indians or mistook important parts of words for mere sighs, grunts, or whispers. Inevitably, many Indian words which have come down to us in old manuscripts lend themselves to false interpretations.

WILLIAM B. MARYE

Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1949. Compiled by JAMES D. HARRISON and others. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1950. 2,057 pp. $9.50.

Since 1928 when a previous *Biographical Directory* was issued, a whole new generation of statesmen and office holders has come to power—and to a large degree passed from the scene. George Moses, Reed Smoot, Frank B. Kellogg, Charles Curtis, Hiram Johnson, William E. Borah, and

Joseph T. Robinson are gone. Harry Truman was then Presiding Judge of the Jackson County Court; Alben Barkley, after 14 years in the House of Representatives, had just been advanced to the Senate; Cordell Hull and Fred Vinson were in the House; and Arthur Vandenberg was to enter the Senate by appointment that year. Maryland's Millard Tydings had just entered upon his Senate duties, and George Radcliffe was yet to serve in the upper house. The need for an up-to-date edition of this indispensable reference tool is thus self-evident. The format of the new volume is similar to the last one. Lists of the personnel of the Continental Congresses, the presidents' cabinets, and the Congresses through the 80th are followed by biographical sketches of the members written in plain and factual style. Enlarged biographies are to be found for such early Maryland figures as William Carmichael, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and Daniel Carroll. A biography of Charles Carroll, Barrister, unrepresented in 1928, now appears. With commendable humility the compilers request that any errors of omission or commission be called to their attention.

The Carter Tree. Compiled by ROBERT RANDOLPH CARTER. Tabulated and Indexed by ROBERT ISHAM RANDOLPH. Santa Barbara, Cal.: Channel Lithograph Co., 1951. 243 pp. $5.

The tabulation and indexing of the genealogical chart of one of Virginia's most prominent families (published 1897) is a welcome addition to the sources used by genealogists and historians working in Virginiana. The dual advantage of a numerical table and an alphabetical index over a large chart or graph is that it expedites the search to find any one of ten thousand names.

Mr. Randolph's unique method of indexing is similar to that used in his book on the Randolphs. The first digit records the children of the second generation in the order of their birth, with each successive digit representing the children in each succeeding generation. Numerals over nine are indicated by lower case letters, *e.g.* 10 = x, 11 = a, 12 = b. Straightline descent as well as collateral relationships are shown. Brothers and sisters, first cousins, etc., are easily recognized because they have the same base number except for their terminal digits. It is easy to trace the intermarriages and cross connections since they are identified by their index number in parenthesis after the name of the reference.

The task of carefully preparing such a work deserves much praise. It could be copied with success by others interested in recording their lineage.

RAYMOND B. CLARK, JR.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

A Century of Service, the Massachusetts Mutual Story. By RICHARD HOOKER. Springfield, Mass.: Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Co., 1951. 191 pp.

The Massachusetts Mutual story is a detailed history of the personalities and circumstances that made the company what it is today. The reader may sometimes smile at the author's method of tying in the happenings in Springfield with historic national events, but one must keep in mind that the Springfield enterprise was becoming part of the national scene. In writing this account, Mr. Hooker has rendered a service to the insurance business and has added to the annals of business history.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

Railroading the Modern Way. By S. KIP FARRINGTON, JR. New York: Coward-McCann, 1951. 395 pp.

New Castle, Delaware, A Bibliography in Commemorating of the Tercentenary of the Founding of New Castle. Compiled by PAUL W. KELLY. Newark: Newark Printing Co., 1951. 20 pp.

NOTES AND QUERIES

A SUPPLEMENTARY COMMENTARY ON CERTAIN WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS USED IN MARYLAND

By William B. Marye

Since the appearance of my article on words and expressions in the June issue of this *Magazine*, I have received a considerable amount of information concerning the use of certain words which were the subject of my comments, data which, in my opinion, necessitate the writing of a supplementary article.

At the outset the writer made it plain that he spoke with authority only for a few old friends and neighbors, whom he named, and for himself, with particular reference to the eastern part of the Eleventh District of Baltimore County [1] and ventured farther afield only when he felt himself to be on sure ground, a feeling which was not always justified, as will later appear.

It comes out that in Baltimore even natives of the same class and race do not use the same words for the same thing. I was recently a guest at luncheon when a dish was set before us which our Baltimore-born hostess and her son styled "cottage-cheese"; but which another guest and the writer called "curd." A friend of the writer, the Baltimore-born son of German-born parents, said "cottage cheese"; while, oddly enough, Mr. William Calvert Steuart, a Baltimorean of colonial descent uses the word "smearcase," which has a German or Dutch derivation.[2]

In this city the words cymlin and squash appear to be contending for survival, with the odds in favor of squash. A well known Baltimore

[1] In my recent article I stated that we natives of the Upper Falls-Kingsville neighborhood say *hay-mow*. The writer's first cousin, Miss Victoria Gittings, not a native, to be sure, but a descendant of old families of those parts and long a resident there, declares that she has always said *hay-loft*. Miss Mary Holmes Smith, whose mother belonged to the family which gave its name to Kingsville, tells me that to her *hay-mow* means *hay stack*. This is all right according to the dictionaries; but I am quite sure that to most of us *hay-mow* meant no such thing.

[2] Mr. Steuart thinks that it comes from the Baltimore German-American element. Dr. Kurath would derive it from the Pennsylvania "Dutch," while I am told that Mr. Mencken would attribute it to the Holland-Dutch Americans. I suggest that it may come from all three sources. My family used to buy their butter and eggs when in town at the Lexington Market from a Mr. Ziegenfoos (?), who brought his produce in from Carroll County from his farm there where he resided. I can imagine them asking him for *curd* and his saying: "You want *smearcase*?"

victualler informs me that some of his customers use the one, others, the other word.[3] It should be pointed out that, properly speaking, a cymlin is a variety of squash,[4] and that some people know, and make use of this distinction.[5] Others, perhaps the majority, do not. Dr. Kent Roberts Greenfield, a native of Chestertown, tells me that he was brought up to say "cymlin."[6] Mr. John O'Ren, of the Baltimore *Sun*, a native Baltimorean, says "cymling."[7] Mrs. Thomas Gittings Buchanan, another Baltimorean, tells me that "cymlin" is the word she uses. Recently she found out, that her daughter-in-law, who is also a Baltimorean, did not know the meaning of the word. In Calvert County "cymlin" was in regular use some years ago;[8] recent reports are lacking.

The words and expression which follow are those which were considered in my previous article that stand in need of further comment. To these I have added two expressions which have not been taken up by me before.

Bloody, for Bullfrog

The writer was mistaken when he remarked that "bloody," for bullfrog, "may be strictly local," that is, used only in the eastern port of the Eleventh District of Baltimore County. Mr. O'Ren tells us that, in his younger days, he called bullfrogs "bloodies," but adds, significantly, that he never hears the word from members of the younger generation.[9] The word is known to Mr. Steuart, another Baltimorean.[10] I have a letter from Dr. Campbell E. Waters, of Washington, D. C., wherein he makes the following comment: "As a small boy the name 'bloodie' was familiar to me and now and then I heard 'bloodynouns'"[11] Dr. Waters was born on a country-place which was situated in what is now northwest Baltimore and includes the site of Easterwood Park. "Bloody," which is probably a contraction of the more common and perhaps more widespread *bloodynoun*, is not found in any standard American dictionary. It is not in Mencken's *American Language* (1936 edition; *Supplement I* and *Supplement II*).

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[3] I refer to Mr. Bernard J. Winter, who lives at Club Hill, on the Harford Road.

[4] In Funk and Wagnalls *New Standard Dictionary* a cymlin (cymbling, simlin, cymling) is described as "a kind of turban shaped squash."

[5] Dr. Campbell E. Waters, of Washington, D. C., a distinguished chemist, who was born on an estate now included within the limits of Baltimore City, in a letter to the writer, dated August 20th, 1951, tells of a "farm woman" at the Center Market, this city, who draws a distinction between cymlins and squash. Dr. Waters adds this interesting information: "Another farmer in the same market, who came from Pennsylvania, never heard of cymlins before coming to a farm in Maryland." Dr. Waters tells me he was brought up to say "cymling" (letter of July 9, 1951).

[6] Letter to the writer, dated September 23, 1951.

[7] John O'Ren in "Down the Spillway," *The Sun*, July 16, 1951.

[8] Letter, Mrs. J. Dawson Reeder to the writer, July 2, 1951.

[9] John O'Ren, *loc. cit.*

[10] A typewritten communication from Mr. Steuart, presented to the Maryland Historical Society.

[11] Letter of July 9, 1951.

Ivy, for (Mountain) Laurel

The writer has received the following interesting and valuable comment on this subject in a letter from Mr. Heath Steele, of New York City, owner of a stock farm near Great Mills, Saint Mary's County, Maryland:[12] "You are not quite right in stating 'This beautiful shrub, kalmia latifolia, is, so far as we know, everywhere called laurel or mountain laurel in Maryland today. No doubt this has been the case for a long time. . . .' I am a Tennessean and of course never heard of anything but mountain laurel. Even rhododendrons were called laurel in the smoky mountains. In 1934 I bought a farm in southern Maryland, just north of old St. Mary's City, and I was quite surprised to hear several of the natives there refer to laurel as ivy. Although I do not know how extensively it is used, I can assure you the word 'ivy' is still in use in St. Mary's County."

Mr. James W. Dutton and his two brothers, who operate a farm near White Plains, in the northern part of Charles County, have never heard laurel called ivy.

The author has received the following interesting communication from Mrs. W. H. B. Bayliff, of Annapolis:[13] "In reading the surveyors' journal for the marking of the line which separates Maryland and the present state of Delaware I found this statement: 'May 15, 1751, . . . This evening we removed our tents to a small Ridge of Ivey or Laurel, this as wet as all the rest had been, was very fatiguing being Obliged to Travel through this Desert till Late at Night—often to mid thigh in Water.'"

This author's father was fond of recalling a Confederate soldiers' song which ran: "When the myrtle and the ivy were in bloom." We wonder whether laurel was meant by ivy in this case. If the song was funereal, as we suspect, Hedera, not Kalmia latifolia, was probably intended.

Hollow, for Tidal Cove

The writer was mistaken when he said that this usage is confined to Patapsco and Gunpowder Rivers.[14] I have a letter from Mrs. J. Dawson Reeder, who was brought up in Calvert County, who states, "The name Barn Hollow is still used to describe the graceful curve of shore line between Holland Pt. on the Patuxent River and Brinkleys Pt. This is to

[12] Letter to the writer, dated July 3, 1951.

[13] Letter from Mrs. Bayliff, received this past summer. This letter is not dated.

[14] In his letter of July 9, 1951, Dr. Campbell G. Waters gives the following information which is of considerable interest in this connection: "At Loch Raven, before the new dam spoiled its beauty, there used to be a 'Dead Man's Hollow.' It was not a tidal cove, of course, but a sharp bend in the lake. If you go to Loch Raven from Towson, the road through Providence joins at right angles the road around the lake. Turn to the left, and before you get to the bridge, you come to a little stream that flows under the road through a culvert. Dead Man's Hollow was there." It makes a difference whether or not the valley of this stream had the name of Dead Man's Hollow before it was partly flooded by the waters impounded by the first dam at Loch Raven on the Great Falls of Gunpowder River, but we doubt if anyone living could enlighten us on that subject.

the south of Holland Pt. The wide and deep cove to the north is known as Buena Vista Hollow." [15] Mrs. Reeder's family home was at Holland Point.

Land Terrapin, For Box Turtle

Mrs. Reeder, in her very kind letter which I referred to above, states that this word was in common use in Calvert County. The usual word in my part of Baltimore County and probably in general use in other parts of Maryland, besides Calvert, it is not to be found in any standard American dictionary, nor is it mentioned in Mencken's *American Language*, including the supplements thereto. The Rev. Armistead Welbourn of Leesburg, Virginia, reports that his family in Virginia "always spoke" of "land terrapins." [16]

Tea, Meaning Supper

In his recent article in this magazine the writer gave his guarantee for this usage in Baltimore County as of fifty years ago. He doubts if he has met with it there since then. Dr. Greenfield, born at Chestertown in 1893, sends us the information that in his boyhood days it was "common though not exclusive" in that neighborhood. This usage extended to Delaware. Mr. George Winchester, Secretary of the Delaware Historical Society, gives us the benefit of the following comments:

"Evidently the use of the word 'tea' for the evening meal (6.30-7 P. M.) was more general than you suggest. My mother always used it and she was a native Wilmingtonian with no southern connections. In addition I remember its use in 'The Rise of Silas Lapham' which I believe referred to New England family." [17]

Mrs. George Windell, Assistant Librarian of the Delaware Historical Society, refers me to a notice in the Wilmington *Daily Commercial*, of November 8, 1873, concerning an attempt to rob the National Bank of Delaware. The cashier of this bank, "while *at tea*, last evening, about 6.30," became suspicious, when he heard a "gentle rap." [18] In answer to my inquiry as to whether or no the usage in question occurred in the Midland Speech Area, outside of Baltimore County, a note in *Delaware History* refers to the diaries (1832-1839) of Mrs. Moses Bradford, wife of the editor of the *Delaware State Journal* (Wilmington). "Tea" was Mrs. Bradford's usual word for supper, but when it was a question of a formal occasion, Mrs. Bradford used the word "dinner." A single mention of "tea" is cited from a Delawarian's account of a visit to Ohio, 1826-1828.[19]

Harvest Home

My impression that this festival, which used to be celebrated annually at Saint John's Church, Kingsville, is not today commonly held by the Episcopal Churches of Maryland, is supported by the Rev. L. O. Forqueran, Librarian of the Diocesan Library, Baltimore, who has resided in this

[15] Letter of July 2, 1951.
[16] Letter of July 9, 1951.
[17] Post-card dated June 30, 1951.
[18] Letter of October 19, 1951.
[19] *Delaware History*, IV (September, 1951), 382-383.

state for the past 31 yers, and has never heard of a harvest-home being celebrated here by any church of his denomination. On the other hand, harvests-home were events quite familiar to him in his native state, Virginia. Mr. Russell Hicks informs me, however, that harvests-home are celebrated by the Methodist Church of Govans, Baltimore.[20] I have lately been informed that harvests-home are very commonly held by churches situated in the north western corner of New Jersey, and that a Harvest Home Dinner was advertised this year by the Lumberville Community Methodist Church, Bucks County, Pennsylvania.[21]

Forest, for Inland Regions

In the introduction to my recent article I gave a tentative date for the planting of the backwoods or "forest" in the Forks of Gunpowder River, Baltimore County. In this county special names were applied to the different forests, as, for example, Garrison Forest with which we are still familiar, and Nod Forest (now in Harford County). If there were two John Browns, one living in one of the necks, the other somewhere in the piedmont region, of this county, the latter would be designated as John Brown *forest*, unless John Brown *gent.*, and John Brown *carpenter* served to bring out the distinction. In Southern Maryland the usage has not yet entirely died out. Miss Lucie Leigh Bowie comments, "A visitor [to Prince George's County] when my mother was just married wrote of her attractive 'forest home.'" [22]

Mr. James W. Duncan, and his two brothers, of White Plains, Charles County, informed me recently that the natives living on tidewater in their county speak of the interior of the county as "the forest."

Heat Fly, or Heat Bug, for Locust

Mrs. Agnes Nash Boykin, and her sister, Mrs. Mary Nash Stokes, of Baltimore City, who were born on their father's farm, close to Lynchburg, Virginia, call locusts heat flies. This expression is not to be found in B. W. Green's *Word-Book of Virginia Folk-Speech* (1899). We have not found it in any standard American dictionary. A related expression, heat bug, for locust, is used in Charles County, according to a native and resident of that county, Mr. James W. Dutton, of White Plains, who is mentioned above.

Journey Proud

This expression, which signifies a mood or state of mind induced in someone by the prospect of going on a journey, was used by Mrs. Hattie Green, wife of William Green, of West Annapolis, Maryland. The Greens were former servants in my family, Hattie Green married, secondly, Isaiah

[20] Members of the congregation of the Govans M. E. Church present their pastor with canned goods and other provisions at the Harvest Home. At Saint John's, Kingsville, the Harvest Home was the occasion of a supper.

[21] For this information thanks are due to Mr. W. G. Harman, of Plainfield, New Jersey.

[22] Postcard, postmarked July 16, 1951.

Wilson, and died near Odenton, Maryland, in 1932. I have heard this admirable expression, for which I know of no substitute, from no one else, and have found it nowhere in print.

In addition to those persons mentioned above to whom he is indebted the author wishes to thank others who have given him the benefit of their encouragement, and have made interesting comments and helpful suggestions, notably, His Honor, Lee E. Gilbert, the Mayor of Laurel, Miss Elizabeth Billingslea, of Fountain Valley, Westminster, and Dr. J. Albert Chatard, of this city. With apologies to philologists for trespassing upon their preserves, uninvited, he hopes that he may be permitted to bow himself out, rather than that they should oblige him to retire in confusion, like Mr. Pickwick, when he found himself one night in the hotel bedchamber of an elderly, respectable lady.

Parker Genealogy Prizes—The closing date for submission of manuscripts in the Dudrea and Sumner Parker Prizes for Maryland Genealogies is December 31, 1951. All manuscripts should be typed and organized in a clear manner to facilitate use by the general public. Papers entered should deal in some degree with a Maryland family or families. Prizes will be as follow: First Prize, $30; Second Prize, $20; Third Prize, $10.

Bishop and Ireland—Desire additional information about following persons: Elisha Bishop, born in Anne Arundel Co. in 1760, son of Thomas and Sarah Bishop. Later, while a resident of Berkeley Co., Va., he enlisted as a substitute for his father in the Revoluntionary War in March, 1779. William Ireland had a son Alexander born in Maryland in 1772, and, by a second wife, a daughter Ann or Nancy. The family migrated from Maryland to Harrison Co., now West Virginia.

Mrs. L. D. Prewitt,
Broadview, Parsons Campus, Fairfield, Iowa.

Borden—Lincoln—Abraham Lincoln was married to Eleanor Borden on January 30, 1781, by Rev. John McPherson in William and Mary Parish, St. Mary's Co. Information concerning identity of this couple is desired.

Richard D. Mudd, M. D.,
1001 Hoyt St., Saginaw, Michigan.

Clarke—Nicholls—Information desired as to parentage of Joseph Clarke who married his second cousin, Ann Nicholls, in Anne Arundel Co., July 29, 1793. Ann Nicholls, decendant of William and Martha Smith Nicholls, was a resident of Prince George's Co. Was Joseph a son of Daniel Clarke who married Ann Smith, a daughter of Nathan Smith? Could Joseph have been a brother of Judge Daniel Clarke of Maryland? Joseph Clarke died in Shelby Co., Ky., in 1821.

Minor E. Clark,
411 Wapping St., Frankfort, Ky.

Caldwell—Rebecca Caldwell of Somerset Co. married Benjamin Stephens in 1758. They went to Bedford Co., Pa., after their marriage. Want name of Rebecca's father; where did he live in Somerset Co.?

Mrs. L. H. Mayer, Jr.,
" Miramont," R. D. 5, Johnstown, Pa.

Murray—Wish to secure information on early life and education of William Vans Murray (1760-1803), Congressman and Minister to the Netherlands, as well as on Murray's political and economic activities in Maryland. His family home was " Glasgow " in Cambridge, Dorchester Co.

Alexander De Conde,
Whittier College, Whittier, Calif.

Chesapeake Bay—Several articles of Chesapeake Bay interest have recently appeared in the new magazine, *Ships and Sailing*. These are " Eastern Shore Night Boat " by Dick Moore (January), " Chesapeake Bay Sailers " (September), " Ramming Around Chesapeake Bay " by Dick Moore (September), " Chesapeake Cordage and Canvas " by Robert H. Burgess (November), and " Salt Water Motoring " by Charles Layng (December).

Morris Markey's article entitled, " Chesapeake Bay Country," appeared in November issue of *Holiday*.

Sailing Craft of the Chesapeake Bay, a leaflet published last month by the Society, describes and illustrates types of vessels used by Chesapeake Bay seamen. Copies may be had for five cents each, eight cents by mail. In quantities of 10 or more three cents each, postage extra.

Bartgis—An article by Klaus G. Wust concerning Matthais Bartgis' newspapers in Virginia appeared in *The American-German Review* for October.

Winterthur Museum—The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum is described at length with beautiful illustrations in the November *Antiques*. Several of the rooms and furnishings were taken from Maryland houses.

Western Maryland—An interesting article on " Frontier Homes of the Potomac "—the Jonathan Hager house and many others—by Mary Vernon (Mrs. Frank W.) Mish appeared in *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine*, 85 (November, 1951), 903-907, 993.

The Abbey (Ringgold Family)—It is stated in the article by Raymond B. Clarke, Jr., that appeared in the June number that "the property seems to have passed to his brother William, who had married Charlotte Spencer." As a descendant of William Ringgold, the brother of Thomas Ringgold, the merchant of Chestertown, I should like to point out the fact that his brother did not marry Charlotte Spencer. He was Major William Ringgold of Eastern Neck. He was a member of the Committee of Safety and Correspondence of Kent County. It is interesting to know also that he was the grandfather of Richard Williamson Ringgold, who was president of Washington College in 1832. William Ringgold married first Sarah Jones and the second time, his cousin, Mary Wilmer. He and his brother were descended from the first wife of James Ringgold, son of the first Thomas Ringgold in Maryland. An account of this William Ringgold is given on page 65 of Hanson's *Old Kent* (1876).

The William Ringgold who married Charlotte, the daughter of Isaac Spencer, belonged to another line. He was descended from the second wife of James Ringgold, son of the first Thomas. (The second wife was Mary Vaughn as correctly given in the article.) He was the son of Thomas Ringgold and Elizabeth Sudler. He married Charlotte Spencer and his will was probated in Kent County in 1798. A history of this branch of the family, *Ringgold of Kent and Queen Anne's Counties* (1900), has been compiled by Duncan Veazy. On page 14 of this book is given an account of this William Ringgold, a Queen Anne's planter.

As the family is so complicated and as there seem to have been two Major William Ringgolds at the time—one a member of the Committee of Observation of Queen Anne's and the other a member of the Committee of Safety of Kent—it is not surprizing that there should have been confusion of persons. Then, too, in the cases in point each William Ringgold had a brother Thomas as well as a nephew Thomas.

Katherine Dudley Thomas,
230 West Lafayette Ave., Baltimore.

Carey—Mathew Carey used but one "t" in his first name and Henry C. Carey was the son rather than the brother of Mathew Carey as is stated in "An Unpublished Letter of 'Parson' Weems" in the September number.

Back Issues—The Society always welcomes the return of any and all back issues of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* that members may not wish to retain.

Life Membership is considered a "good investment" by many. An annual member becomes a Life Member on payment of $100 and pays no further dues. A Life Member has the satisfaction of knowing that the $100 payment is added to the Society's permanent endowment.

Levy—On October 12, 1802, the Military Academy graduated its first class consisting of Joseph Gardner Swift of Massachusetts and Simon Magruder Levy of Maryland. Swift had a distinguished career, both in the Army and in civil life; when he died in 1865 at the age of 82, he was highly honored by his Alma Mater and his memory is well conserved here with two fine portraits from life, official records, his personal memoirs, and letters written by him. Poor Simon Levy, however, served only three years in the Corps of Engineers before ill health forced him to resign, and he died in 1807. . . . As our Sesquicentennial Year approaches, we are anxious to determine if there is in existence some portrait of Simon M. Levy of which we could obtain a photograph. We should also like to learn more regarding him and his family. . . . I have a feeling that Simon Levy must have been a young man of considerable learning and promise. It would be a real pleasure to reveal him more fully to the graduates and cadets of today, for whom he is now only a name.

Col. Allen L. Keyes,
U. S. Military Academy, West Point, N. Y.

CONTRIBUTORS

A graduate student at Johns Hopkins, MR. HABER is preparing a study of the relationship of government to the development of science in the early national period. ☆ MISS POOLE, a native of St. Mary's County and a graduate of George Washington University, taught history in the public schools of Washington, D. C., for a number of years. ☆ A previous contributor, MR. CARROLL, of Easton, is a doctoral candidate in religion at Duke University. ☆ MR. MAGRIEL, a noted historian of pugilism, is at work on a book about the American prize-ring from 1735 to 1880.

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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933,

Of Maryland Historical Magazine, published quarterly at Baltimore 1, Maryland, for December, 1951.

State of Maryland, City of Baltimore, ss.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared James W. Foster, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is Business Manager of the Maryland Historical Magazine, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.)

None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security stockholders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, held stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

JAMES W. FOSTER,
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 24th day of September, 1951.

HAROLD B. REES,
Notary Public.

(My commission expires May 4, 1952.) [SEAL]

THE INDEX TO THE 1951 MAGAZINE

The Index to Volume XLVI (the year 1951) of the Maryland Historical Magazine will be published as a separate pamphlet and mailed gratis to any member or subscriber who may request it, provided such request is received before January 15. It will be sent, without the necessity of a request, to all exchanges and institutional subscribers.

This move has been necessitated by the constantly advancing costs of printing and paper. It will continue in effect unless notice to the contrary is given.

HELP TO PERPETUATE OUR HERITAGE BY SUPPORTING THE SOCIETY'S WORK

The form for use in making bequests to the Society is:

"I give and bequeath to The Maryland Historical Society the sum of ..... Dollars."

Gifts and bequests to the Society are exempt from Maryland and U. S. taxation.

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America's First Aeronaut

Buried on the inside pages of the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser* of June 24, 1784, is one of the most tantalizing pieces of reporting in newspaperdom. Slightly abridged, the account is as follows:

> **"Yesterday the ingenious Peter Carnes, Esq. made his curious Aerostatic Experiments within the Limits of this Town in the Presence of a numerous and respectable Congress of People, whom the fame of his superb BALLON had drawn together. Ambition, on this occasion, so fired the youthful Heart of a Lad (only 13 Years old!) of the name of Edward Warren that he bravely embarked as a Volunteer on the last Trip into the Air. The "gazing Multitude below" wafted to him their loud Applause, the receipt of which, as he was "Soaring aloof," he politely acknowledged by a significant Wave of his Hat."**

This is the first recorded flight in America by a human being. Additional details are meager. Peter Carnes was a Baltimore attorney. His balloon was "about 35 feet in diameter and about 30 feet high, made of silk of various colors."

The ascension took place on the John Eager Howard estate—probably near the present site of the Washington Monument. Admission cost $2.00, or "for the second place Ten Shillings each."

Of youthful Edward Warren we know nothing. His brief moment of glory ended with the balloon's descent. America's first aeronaut is remembered in history by only "a significant Wave of his Hat."

Today, only a few miles from the site of this historic flight, Baltimore's Friendship International Airport links the city by air with every corner of the world. Our office in this world-famous air terminal provides complete banking facilities for business and individuals. We invite our customers to use this office whenever it is more convenient.

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